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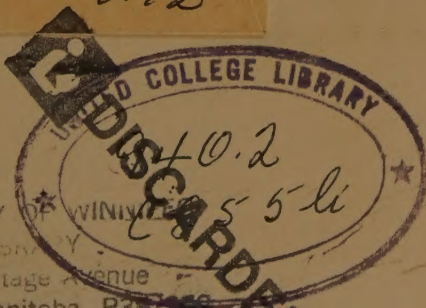
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THE CAMBRIDGE ANTHOLOGIES

GENERAL EDITOR: J. DOVER WILSON, LITT.D.

LIFE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME II

Cambridge University Press
Fetter Lane, London

New York

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LIMBURG ON THE LAHN

Showing the East end of the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace.

LIFE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

SELECTED
TRANSLATED & ANNOTATED

BY

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in English

VOLUME II

CHRONICLES, SCIENCE
AND ART

with 16 illustrations

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To .
MY WIFE



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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS book appeals to the increasing body of readers who wish to get at the real Middle Ages; who, however impatient of mere dissertations and discussions, are glad to study genuine human documents, and to check the generalizations of historians by reference to first-hand facts. The Author has, therefore, attempted to compile a catena of such documents, each more or less complete in itself, but mostly too long for full quotation by historians. Moreover, he claims to cover a wider ground than most of the formal histories. The records here printed represent thirty years' study among all kinds of medieval writings, and could scarcely be outdone in this respect but by scholars who have better work to do. They have been chosen as specially characteristic of the period, and as appealing also to that deeper humanity which is common to all minds in all periods. They treat of clergy and laity, saints and sinners; spiritual experiences, love, battles, pageants, and occasionally the small things of everyday life. Drawn from six different languages, the large majority of these extracts are here translated for the first and perhaps the last time, since they are only the cream from bulky and often inaccessible volumes. A few are from manuscripts. If, on the whole, religious life is more fully represented here, and that life itself in its least conventional aspects, this want of strict proportion is more or less inherent in the plan of the work. We do not go abroad to meet Englishmen, or into the Middle Ages for the commonplace; though an occasional touch of this kind may help to show us the essential uniformity of little things in all ages. We most want to hear of those who, for good or evil, stand apart from the rest; and in the Middle Ages, as now, the evil generally lent itself best to picturesque description. The Author has, however, done all he can, consistently with any measure of historical truth, to avoid those darkest

sides of all upon which the scope of his *From St Francis to Dante* compelled him to dwell at some length.

Several of the best books, being easily accessible elsewhere, are omitted here. From one or two more, only just enough is given to indicate the value of the rest, already sufficiently translated. It was impossible, within any reasonable compass, to exploit the rich mine of Franciscan and Dominican records also; a small fraction of these have already been printed in *From St Francis to Dante*, and the rest are reserved for a later volume. With these necessary exceptions, it is hoped that the present selection may be in some real sense representative. How far it is from being exhaustive, those will know best who have read most widely. From such critics the Author can only claim indulgence for this first attempt in English to cover Medieval Life as a whole.

G. G. C.

40 MILL ROAD
EASTBOURNE

May 1910

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE original volume was felt by some readers to be rather bulky; here, therefore, it is divided into separately purchasable parts, arranged roughly according to subject. The first and largest deals with *Religion, Folk-Lore and Superstition*; the second, with *Chronicles, Science and Art*; the third, with *Men and Manners*; the fourth, with *Monks, Friars and Nuns*. The first is enlarged by the addition of three extracts which were not in the first edition, two of which refer to subjects of considerable recent interest, St Joan and the Inquisition. The fourth volume is considerably enlarged, especially by the inclusion of My Lord Abbot from *Petit Jean de Saintr  *. I have been able to correct a few mistakes and add a few notes; otherwise, there has been little opportunity of bringing the book up to date. For the rearrangement of the extracts and the revision of the proofs, and much other help, I am indebted to my wife.

G. G. C.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE

Jan. 1928

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Vincent of Beauvais was born about 1190, and died probably shortly after 1260. He was a Dominican Friar, Lector and Librarian to St Louis, to whose queen he dedicated his treatise on the education of princes. His *Speculum Majus*, or *Bibliotheca Mundi*, the greatest of medieval encyclopaedias, was republished even as late as 1624 by the Benedictines of Douai. The following extract is from chapter viii of the *Prologue* to that book.

I. DIFFICULTIES OF THE MEDIEVAL ENCYCLOPAEDIST

MOREOVER I am not ignorant that Philosophers have said many contradictory things, especially concerning nature. For example, some have judged the air to be naturally hot, as Aristotle and Avicenna; while others, as Seneca, have pronounced it to be cold. Some also assert that a serpent's venom is frigid, as doth Isidorus; others again will have it to be ardent, of whom is Avicenna. Seeing however that in these and suchlike matters either part of these contradictories may be believed or disbelieved without peril to our Faith, therefore I admonish the reader that he abhor not this book if perchance he find such contradictions in many places, and under the names of divers authors; the more so as I have herein undertaken not the office of a composer but that of a compiler. Wherefore I have taken small pains to reduce the sayings of the Philosophers to concord, striving rather to repeat what each hath said on every matter, and leaving the reader to put faith in one or the other judgment after his own choice. For, seeing that even many physicians seem to dissent one from another in their judgment of the complexion, degree, or quality of simple medicines, we must reflect that the very complexions of men and animals and fruits of the earth differ according to the diversities of regions, so that one of the same kind may be here an antidote, there a poison. For (to cite an example) the black poppy is written in physicians' books

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for a poison; yet in our parts men take it for food. Likewise Avicenna and Rhasus count the stag's tail as venomous; which, however, is constantly denied by physicians in our country.

Ralph Higden, a monk of Chester, died in 1364. His *Polychronicon* is not only a digest of such chronicles as the author could get hold of, but also a popular encyclopaedia: it has no original merit, but is most valuable as showing a learned man's outlook on the world during Chaucer's boyhood. The book was translated in 1367 by John Trevisa, chaplain to Lord Berkeley, for whom see *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* vol. II, p. 71. Higden's Latin and Trevisa's English are printed on alternate pages in the Rolls Series: the extracts in this and other volumes are little modernized except in the spelling.

2. THE SAME

(Vol. I, p. 17.)

THOUGH feigning and saws of misbelieved and lawless men, and wonders and marvels of divers countries and lands be y-planted in this book, such serve and are good to be known of Christian men. Virgil sought gold of wit and wisdom in the fen of Ennius the poet; and the children of Israel, in their going into the Land of Behest, spoiled the Egyptians. That which is in other books y-written well-wide, and parcel-meal y-planted, here it is y-put together in rule and in order; so mirth to sadness and heathen to christian, ever-each among other, that strange stories be so abridged, shorted and y-lengthened that the story is whole, in soothness nought y-changed. Nevertheless more certain some is holden than other. For Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, saith: "We shall trow and worship the miracles of God and not them disprove by disputation." Wonders be not all to be untrowed: for Hieronymus saith: "Many wonders thou shalt find that thou wouldest not believe, and yet they be full sooth: nature may not do against God, Lord of nature." Also of many things that seemeth full sooth, nevertheless skilfully we doubteth. Isidorus saith: "If reason is uncertain of the building of the city of Rome, what wonder though men be uncertain of the building of other cities and towns? Wherefore we shall not

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIST'S DIFFICULTIES

blame makers and writers of stories, that diversly speak and write; for long passages of time and elde of deeds maketh them unknown and writers to err." Therefore Hieronymus saith: "It is seemly to trow their saws that withsayeth not our belief nor soothness that is known."

Wherefore in writing of this history I take not upon me to affirm for sooth all that I write here, but such as I have seen and y-read in divers books, I gather and write without envy, and [make] common with other men. For the Apostle saith not: "All that is written to our lore is sooth," but he saith: "All that is y-written to our lore it is y-written."¹

The monastery of Novalese, under Mont Cenis, was founded A.D. 726; its well-known *Chronicle* was compiled by one of its monks in the first and second quarters of the eleventh century. References are to Pertz's smaller edition (*Chronicon Novaliciense*, Hanover, 1890).

3. THE EARLIEST RECORDED ALPINE CLIMB

(*Chron. Nov.* p. 11.)

To the right hand of this monastery [of Novalese] is Monte Romuleo, the loftiest of all the mountains near. In this mountain dwelt one Romulus, a most gigantic king [*rex elephantiosissimus*] from whom also it took its name, on account of the refreshment and pleasant nature of the place or of the lake thereon. This mountain, therefore, surrounds on the right hand, as I have said, the aforesaid monastery; and at the roots thereof runs the road to Burgundy. On this mountain, as also on Mont Cenis, the common folk say that several sorts of wild beasts live—bears, chamois, wild goats, and others

¹ Dr Gairdner (*Lollardy and the Reformation*, vol. 1, p. 212) is mistaken in quoting this passage as a proof of medieval freedom from that bibliolatry which beset the Reformers. Higden is obviously apologizing, not for historical errors in Holy Writ, but for the unequal historical value of the different authors from whom he has compiled. Even if this were not plain enough in the context, it is clinched by the chapter immediately following, which is headed "Names of the Authors quoted in this work." Then follows a list of 40 names, from Josephus and Hegesippus down to Florence of Worcester, but with no mention of the Bible.

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good for hunting. There also rises a stream, falling through the dizzy heights of those rocks, wherein it is said that a spring of salt water arises and runs mingled with the other; so the chamois and goats and tame sheep are wont, for the love of the salt, oftentimes to flock to this stream, that is, through the gorge of the river-bed at the point where it opens into the plain. Now men say that the aforesaid Romulus had amassed a vast hoard of money on this Monte Romuleo when he dwelt there; to which mountain no man can ever climb, howsoever fervently he desire it; but this old man, who told me so much of the same place, told me how at a certain season he had marked the exceeding clearness of the sky; at which time he rose at early dawn with a certain Count named Clement, and they two hastened with all their might to ascend the aforesaid mountain. But, when they were now hard by the summit, its peak began to be covered and darkened with thick clouds which, growing little by little, came even to them as they climbed; wherefore, finding themselves within the dark cloud and groping their way with their hands, they escaped with much difficulty through this darkness; for it seemed to them (as they said), that stones were hurled down upon them from above; and they report that the like had happened to others also. Now on that summit nought is to be seen on one side but the wild forest; but men say that on the other side is a lake of vast extent, and a meadow. This same old man was wont to tell of a certain most virtuous marquis, named Arduin, who, having often heard the countryfolk tell of the treasure heaped up on that mountain, was kindled with the fire of covetousness and bade forthwith that certain clerks should hasten to ascend with him to the summit. These, therefore, taking a cross and holy water and royal banners and singing their litanies, went on their way; yet before they had reached the summit of the mountain they must needs turn back with shame, even as the others.

Alpinists may be interested to compare this with two other extracts illustrative of early mountaineering. No. 4 is from Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Historiale*, lib. i, c. 84); and no. 5 from the *Chronicle* of Brother Salimbene, who died in 1288 (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptt.* vol. xxxii, p. 598).

AN ALPINE CLIMB

4. ANOTHER

PETRUS COMESTOR [died A.D. 1198] saith that Mount Olympus riseth even to the clear aether, wherefore letters written in the dust on the summit of that mountain have been found unchanged after the lapse of a whole year. Neither can birds live there, by reason of the rarefaction of the air, nor could the Philosophers who have ascended it remain there even for a brief space of time, without sponges soaked in water, which they applied to their nostrils and sucked thence a denser air.

5. ANOTHER

THIS King Peter of Aragon,¹ was a man of magnificent heart and a strong man armed and skilled in war. . . as may be seen also from this example which I here subjoin. On the confines of Provence and Spain rises an exceeding high mountain called by the men of those parts Mont Canigou [*Canigosus*], and which we may call Mount Murky [*Caliginosus*]. This is the first mountain which seafarers mark at their coming, and the last which they see at their departure, after which they see no more land. On this mountain no man dwells, nor had any son of man dared to climb it on account of its enormous height and the difficulty and travail of the way; but around its roots men dwell. When therefore Peter of Aragon had purposed to climb this mountain, wishing to learn by the sight of his own eyes what was on its summit, he called two knights who were his familiar friends, and whom he loved with all his heart; to whom he expounded that which he proposed to do. They rejoiced and promised him not only to keep his purpose secret, but also never to leave him. Wherefore they took provisions and all fit weapons, and (leaving their horses at the foot of the mountain, where are the dwellings of men) they began to climb little by little on foot. When,

¹ Pedro III, of Aragon, died in 1285. He was the rival of Charles of Anjou, and is placed by Dante in the Valley of Flowers (*Purg.* vii, 112-125).

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

therefore, they had climbed far higher, there they began to hear horrible and most dreadful thunderclaps: moreover, flashes of lightning burst forth, and tempests of hail came down, whereat they were all dismayed and, falling to the ground, were as it were bereft of life for fear and expectation of what had come upon them. But Peter, who was brave and more vigorous than they, and who wished to fulfil the desire of his heart, comforted them, lest they should faint amid those afflictions and terrors, saying that this labour should yet rebound to their honour and glory. So he gave them to eat, and himself ate with them; and, after this rest from the weariness and travail of the way, he exhorted them again to go up valiantly with him. Thus he said, and thus they did, many times over. But at last these two companions of King Peter began to faint, so that they could scarce breathe for utter weariness of the way and for fear of the thunderbolts. Then Peter asked them to await him there until the morrow at eventide; and then, if he came not back, to descend the mountain and go whithersoever they would. So Peter went up alone with great travail of body; and, having come to the top of the mountain, he found there a lake, into which he cast a stone. Then a monstrous dragon of loathly aspect issued therefrom, hovering round in the air until the face of heaven was darkened with the vapour of his breath; after which Peter came down to his companions and told them fully of all that he had seen and done. And, as they went down from that mountain, he bade them publish this abroad to whomsoever they would. Methinks that this achievement of Peter of Aragon may be reckoned with those of Alexander, who would exercise himself in many fearful deeds and works, that he might earn the praise of posterity.

VIVISECTION

Guibert de Nogent, from the first publication of his works in the seventeenth century, has been known as one of the most interesting autobiographers of the Middle Ages: his *Treatise on Relics* and *God's Dealings through the Franks [in the Holy Land]* are no less interesting. His style, especially in his *Own Life*, is involved and obscure, quite apart from corruptions of the text; but he was one of the most honest and learned writers in an age of great intellectual activity; and, though he took St Bernard's side against Abelard, he shows a critical acumen which can seldom be paralleled in any period of the Middle Ages. Born near Beauvais in 1053, of noble blood, he lost his father in childhood and his mother at the age of twelve by her retirement to a convent. His old master having at the same time become a monk, Guibert ran wild for a few years. At last, through his mother's and master's influence, he took the vows at St Germer, that magnificent abbey-church which may still be seen between Gournay and Beauvais. The regularity of his life and his fame as a student earned him the honourable position of abbot at Nogent-sous-Coucy. After playing a conspicuous part in the Church politics of 1106 and succeeding years, he retired again to the peace of his abbey, wrote several books of great value, and died between 1121 and 1124. More specimens of Guibert's work would be given here, but that his life and writings have been admirably treated in a monograph by a scholar of great promise whose early death has aroused much sympathy (Bernard Monod, *Le Moine Guibert*, Hachette, 1905).

6. VIVISECTION

(Guibert's *God's Dealings*, col. 798.)

BALDWIN [afterwards King of Jerusalem] had been wounded in battle while he rescued a footsoldier of his army, with whose bravery he was much delighted. The leech whom he summoned feared in his foresight lest the cataplasm outwardly applied might film over the wound, which (as he knew) had pierced deep into the prince's body; he feared therefore lest, while the skin grew smooth over the wound, it might rankle inwardly with a mass of putrid matter. This he foresaw in his wondrous skill, partly by a most praiseworthy conjecture, and partly from past experience. He therefore besought the king to command that one of the Saracen prisoners (for it would have been wicked to ask it of a Christian) should be wounded in that same place, and afterwards slain; whereby he might enquire at better leisure in the dead man's body—nay, might clearly perpend from its examination—how it was with the king's wound at the very bottom. From this

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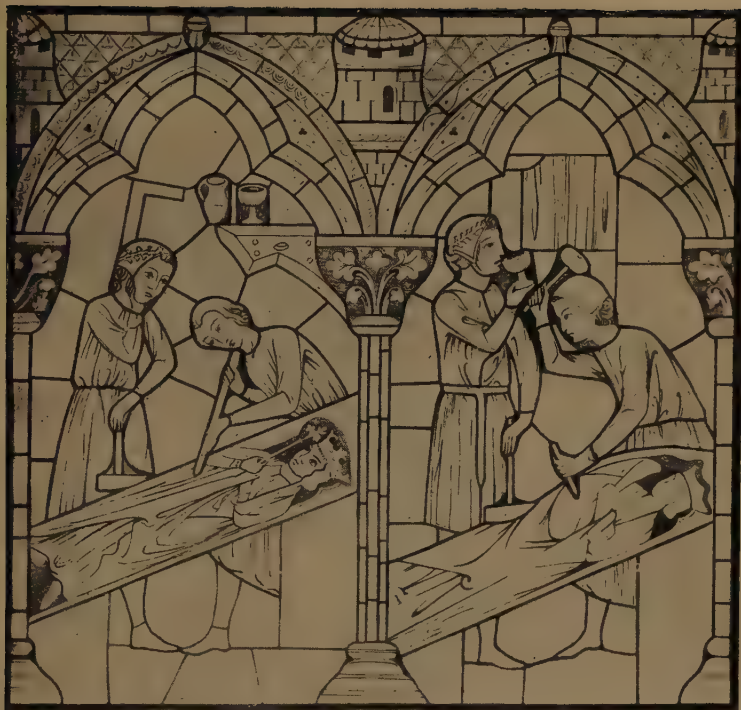
however, the prince's loving-kindness shrank in horror; and he repeated that ancient example of the Emperor Constantine, who utterly refused to become the cause of any man's death, even of the basest, for so small a chance of his own safety. Then said the doctor: "If indeed thou art resolved to take no man's life for the sake of thine own cure, then at least send for a bear, a beast that is of no use but to be baited; let him stand erect on his hinder paws with his fore-feet raised, and bid them thrust him with the steel; then, by inspection of his bowels after death, I may in some degree measure how deep that wound is, and how deep thine own." Then said the king, "We will not strain at the beast, if need be: do therefore as thou wilt." Whereupon it was done as the leech bade; and he discovered from this proof of the wild beast how perilous it would have been for the king if the lips of the wound had become united before the matter had been drawn forth and the bottom had grown together. Let this suffice concerning the king's pitifulness.

Extracts 7 and 8 are from the *Life* of St Stephen of Obazine in Baluze-Mansi, *Miscellanea*, vol. I, pp. 161, 154-6. St Stephen, with a few like-minded companions, founded, near Limoges, in the then desert spot of Obazine, a monastery of which he became abbot. About 1148 he procured the incorporation of his abbey into the Order of Cîteaux, then in its full glory. This *Life*, written by a disciple and fellow-monk, is full of interesting information upon twelfth-century monasticism in its strictest forms.

7. "WHO BUILDS GOOD CHURCHES MUST HIMSELF BE GOOD"

(Vol. I, p. 161.)

AMONG other changes [involved in the incorporation with Cîteaux] the use of flesh-food for the sick was introduced, according to the Cistercian Rule. This so deeply grieved the holy man that, seeing one of the animals being slaughtered for the sick monks, he was moved in spirit and said: "Ye have brought your butcher's shambles into the House of God!" When the Chapter of the Rule concerning the sick was quoted to him, he held his peace, since he could neither



A MASONS' LODGE

From the thirteenth-century windows of Chartres, reproduced in Didron's
Annales Archéologiques, t. II, p. 242.

“WHO BUILDS GOOD CHURCHES...”

like the clause itself nor mislike the authority of the Rule. For when our abbey-church was a-building, before the Brethren were yet made monks (as I was told by one who was present and heard and saw it), the hired workmen, impatient of so long an abstinence from flesh, bought for themselves a pig, cooked its flesh, and ate thereof in the forest; the rest they brought back and hid in their lodging, that they might consume it secretly next morning. When this was told to the Abbot, he was moved to grievous indignation; and, taking some of the Brethren, he began to go round the workshops, until, coming to the masons' lodge, he found the flesh hidden between two barrels, even as he had heard. Seizing it therefore, and looking round upon his companions, he asked what should be done with this stuff. Some judged that it should be given to the poor; others, that it should be returned to the workmen, lest they should be grieved and depart; whereupon he answered, "Not so, my Brethren, not so; but rather let us send it on the road which it must so soon have taken": saying which, he bade them cast it into the draught, and returned by the way he had come. By this time the workmen were set again to their work; who, hearing of this deed, and moved to furious indignation, cast away their tools, left their labour, and began to rage against the Man of God with murmurs and mad words of wrath. He for his part went to pacify them; but when with soft words he began to soothe their vexation, then they attacked him with reviling and curses, threatening that neither they nor any others would thenceforward work in his service, who had done them so great an injustice. Then, making light of their threats, he began to reproach them with their infirmity and their stealthy repasts; adding that, if they abandoned God's work for the allurements of their belly, he would not fail to find the builders necessary for the Lord's house, and such as, without carnal indulgences, would rear it better than they. Nay, even though none such could be found, it were better (as he said) that God's house should never be built than that the habitations of His servants should be defiled with unclean meats: whereupon he would have departed. But they, pricked to the heart, followed him and fell at his feet, praying forgiveness for their words of

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folly; which when they had obtained, they came back forthwith to their work, corrected and amended to their own profit and to the health of their souls.

Glimpses of medieval architects or masons at work are so rare that the reader will perhaps be glad to have two extracts describing the work, apparently at a later stage when the Brethren had learned to do their own building.

8. ARCHITECTURAL MIRACLES

(*Ib.* pp. 154, 156.)

IN the daytime [the Brethren] worked busily in the fields. . . . Moreover, they built their own habitations, trimming with hammers the stones hewn from the mountain, and carrying them on their own shoulders to the builders' yard. It was marvellous to see huge stones, which many men could not have carried, borne by four of the Brethren, who went so nimbly that they seemed to bear no load at all. . . . When the Man of God came back from his visit to the Chartreuse, as the Brethren increased in number, he purposed to increase likewise the buildings of the monastery, which were but small. Beginning first with the sanctuary, he began to build a church in honour of Mary, the holy Mother of God, after the model of the Chartreuse. But as the Brethren were building it, one of the great men of that land feared lest it should become a refuge for his enemies and a cause of ruin to himself, wherefore he came with a great band of followers to stop them; by whose threats the Brethren were so terrified (for the Man of God was absent) that for wellnigh two days they continued the work after a feebler fashion than they had begun, and without proper cement. When, therefore, he returned and found the walls bound not with cement but with slime, and thus not only defiled but weakened, then he rebuked the Brethren and soon brought the work back to its first model in matter and in form. . . . And when the building itself rose higher, and the Brethren that went upon the scaffolding were carrying an immense stone in their stretcher,

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then the scaffold began to yield under the weight, groaning and bending and threatening ruin. The Saint, seeing this from afar, ran up quickly and, making the sign of the cross, set his shoulders to the load; whereby he supplied such virtue that the scaffold was confirmed in the twinkling of an eye, while the Brethren were so fortified that they went as though they felt no load.

The main story of Abelard's life is too well known to need repetition here. After his separation from Héloïse he became a monk at St Denis; but here he roused his fellow-monks to fury by throwing doubt upon their claim to possess, in their patron saint, no other than Dionysius the Areopagite of Acts xvii, 34. After Abelard had suffered some persecution at St Denis, the abbot was persuaded by his protectors to suffer his retirement to a solitude near Nogent-sur-Seine, where he finally founded a monastery as related in the following extract. He died in 1142 at the age of sixty-three: his last years had been spent at Cluny under the protection of Peter the Venerable.

9. THE RELIGION OF LEARNING

I THEREFORE withdrew to a solitary spot that I knew of in the country of Troyes. Here I received the gift of some land whereon, with the assent of the Bishop of that diocese, I first built a little oratory of reeds and straw, which I dedicated to the name of the Holy Trinity. Here I lived in hiding with a certain clerk for my companion, and could with truth chant that psalm to the Lord, "Lo, I have gone far off flying away; and I abode in the wilderness." When the scholars heard of this, they began to flock together from all parts, leaving their cities and towns and coming to live in my wilderness. Here, instead of spacious houses, they built themselves little tabernacles; for delicate food they ate nought but herbs of the field and rough country bread; for soft couches they gathered together straw and stubble, nor had they any tables save clods of earth. They seemed in very truth to imitate those ancient philosophers of whom Jerome thus wrote in his second book against Jovinian: "Through the senses, as through windows, vices creep into the soul. . . . Impelled by such reasons, many

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philosophers have left the press of cities and suburban gardens, where the fields are pleasantly watered and the trees thick with foliage; where birds chirp and living pools mirror the sky, and the brook babbles on its way, and many other things entice men's ears or eyes; lest through the luxury and abundance of plenty a soul's strength be turned to weakness, and its modesty be violated. For indeed it is unprofitable to gaze frequently on that whereby thou mayest one day be caught, and to accustom thyself to such things as thou shalt afterwards scarce be able to lack. For the Pythagoreans also, avoiding such frequented spots, were wont to dwell in the wilderness and the desert." Moreover Plato himself, though he was a rich man, whose costly couch Diogenes once trod under his muddy feet, chose the Academe, a villa far from the city, and not only solitary but pestilent also, as the fittest spot for the entire study of philosophy; that the assaults of lust might be broken by the anxiety and frequent presence of sickness, and that his disciples might feel no other delights save in those things that he taught them. Such also is the life which the sons of the prophets are said to have led, who clung around Elisha, and of whom, as the monks of those days, this same Jerome writeth in his letter to the monk Rusticus, saying among other things: "The sons of the prophets, who (as we read in the Old Testament) were monks, built themselves little lodges hard by the river Jordan, and, leaving towns with their multitudes, lived upon coarse meal and wild herbs." Such then were my disciples who, building their little lodges there beside the river Arduzon, seemed rather hermits than scholars. Yet, the greater was the press of scholars flocking thither, and the harder the life which they suffered to hear my teaching, the more glorious did my rivals think this to me, and the more ignominious to themselves. For, after having done all that they could against me, they grieved now that all things should work together to me for good; wherefore (to cite my Jerome again) "though I had withdrawn far from cities, market-places, quarrels and crowds, yet even so (as Quintilian saith) envy found me in my hiding-place." For these fellows, complaining within themselves and groaning with envy, said, "Behold the whole world hath gone after

THE RELIGION OF LEARNING

him; we have profited nought in persecuting him; nay, we have rather added to his renown. We have sought to extinguish his name, and have kindled it the more. Lo, these scholars have all necessities at hand in their towns; yet, contemning the delights of the city, they flock together to the penury of this wilderness, and are miserable by their own choice." Yet it was then my intolerable poverty more than aught else that drove me to become a master of the schools; for I could not dig, and to beg I was ashamed; wherefore, falling back upon the art which I knew, I was compelled to employ my tongue instead of the labour of my hands. My scholars, of their own accord, provided me with all necessities, not only in food and raiment but in tilling of the fields and defraying the cost of the buildings, so that no household care might withdraw me from my studies. Seeing then that my oratory could no longer hold even a small portion of them, they must needs extend it, building it more solidly with stones and wood. Though then it had been founded and hallowed in the name of the Holy Trinity; yet, because I had there found a refuge in mine exile and some small share of the grace of God's consolation had been breathed into my despair, therefore in memory of that lovingkindness I called it the Paraclete.

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Side by side with the few men of genius like Abelard and Roger Bacon, who saw clearly the weakness of the traditional learning, and with the many medieval writers who, like Guibert de Nogent and Matthew Paris, brought a wide experience and some real critical acumen to the examination of the reports which they transmitted to posterity, there were many others who thought far more of "edification" than of objective truth. We have seen (vol. I, no. 7) how Guibert complained that this fatal indifference to facts was fostered by the rivalry existing between different churches and monasteries, each of which claimed greater antiquity and a more glorious collection of relics than its fellows. There were similar rivalries between different cities, each proud of its own legends; cf. the amusing extract quoted from the Shillingford Letters (A.D. 1444) in Mrs Green's *Town Life in the XVth Century*, vol. I, p. 342: the Mayor of Exeter claiming that Vespasian had besieged that city "soon after the Passion of Christ...and then he with Titus besieged Jerusalem and obtained and sold thirty Jews' heads for a penny, as it appeareth by the Chronicles." A still more instructive example may be found in the following extract from the *Chronicle of Tournai*, compiled by Heriman, Abbot of St Martin there, and published in vol. II of the *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*. The young canon Henry was born about 1125 (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. XII, p. 245). The story may be compared with Extract 7 (vol. I) from Guibert de Nogent.

10. HISTORY BY REVELATION

(p. 480.)

CONCERNING the building and destruction of this [city of Tournai] there is a book in our possession: the contents of which, never before seen or heard-of by us or our ancestors, nor ever found in any written record however cursorily composed, were lately revealed in the most unhoped-for fashion to a single youth of Tournai, a clerk, after the manner here following.

A certain youth named Henry, our fellow-canon, on the twenty-first of April, which was a Monday in Eastertide, chanced to go alone at nightfall through the new building of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, without the least fear in his mind; when he suddenly heard voices as of a mighty multitude rushing towards him with fearful vehemence; and he saw a torrent of flame coming upon him, which burned part of his garment and of his arm beneath it, close by the wrist. At this

HISTORY BY REVELATION

he was sore afraid, and fell forthwith to the ground; and, being forthwith ravished as if in an ecstasy, he saw many men whom he knew now to be dead, but whom he had known in life, coming towards him and speaking one with another. After which it seemed to him that he was in a field full of roses and lilies with all sweet and fragrant flowers, wherein he halted awhile. Then the horror of his first fear vanished away, and the exceeding sweetness of that vision so cheered him that he felt altogether refreshed and as it were a new man. Presently he was aware of four men clad in white garments, who came towards him with candlesticks and censers in their hands; after whom came three honourable men adorned with episcopal robes, with crozier in hand and crowned with golden mitres, whereon each one's name was graven. On his mitre who went in the midst was graven *Eleutherius, Saint and Bishop*; on his of the right hand, *Eloy, Saint and Bishop*, and on his of the left hand, *Achaire, Saint and Bishop*. After these followed Sir Gerard the priest, a religious man, who had been a faithful Almoner to the Cathedral, clad in his sacerdotal vestments. St Eleutherius therefore, drawing nigh unto the young man, cast his maniple over him as though he caressed him; after which he showed him the book of his own life that he bore in his hand, and bade the youth read it in his presence. When therefore he had read it through, then the Saint returned it into his own bosom and went back to the place wherein he had stood before. Then St Eloy came to the youth and offered him the book of his life, which the youth would not read, saying that he knew it well enough already. Then St Achaire showed him these words written on his right hand: *By me was a man raised from the dead in Jesus' name*. Then they departed in the same order wherein they had come; and the youth, coming to himself from this ecstasy, rose from the ground and returned to his father's house and lay sick all that night upon his bed. When morning was come, he prayed to be sprinkled with Holy water; and, thus refreshed, he showed how his garment had been burned and the flesh melted beneath, and related some of the things that he had seen. On the Saturday following, he secretly summoned William the Dean and confessed his past sins; then he received absolution

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and the penance enjoined, and took the Lord's Body; after which he recalled that aforesaid Book of the Life of St Eleutherius, (which he had read six days before¹ in his ecstasy,) and began to read it in the hearing of all as fluently as though he were reciting the Lord's Prayer. Struck by the strangeness of the event, we came together in wonder and began to dispute and conjecture much concerning so marvellous a vision. For, albeit some maintained that the youth, being a skilful composer in verse and prose, might himself have composed this life, yet we, who knew not his knowledge, did know very well that he had never been practised in this manner of composition; and, indeed, even though he had composed it, yet he could by no means have committed it so exactly to his memory and read it so fluently by rote. Wherefore, after taking counsel of religious men, we transmitted this vision in writing to our lord Samson, Archbishop of Rheims, and to the lord Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, who were gathered together at Sens with the king of France and other bishops and abbots, on the octave of Pentecost, to hear and discuss the books of Master Peter Abelard.² With them we consulted as to what they might think best to be done in the matter; and they sent us word that we should await thenceforth the issue of God's will. Behold, therefore! after a few days, the aforesaid youth, foreboding by certain signs that St Eleutherius would again reveal himself to him, made his confession at early dawn, heard mass, took the Lord's Body, and then entered in with a few others to pray in the secret place wherein the Saint's shrine was laid. There he fell suddenly to the ground; and, when those that were without heard thereof, very many pressed in, among whom were we ourselves. Here we found him lying on the ground like a dead man, with closed eyes, whereat we wondered, awaiting the end of that matter. Then, behold! within a brief space we heard him read concerning the enshrining of the body of St Eleutherius, and marvelled at his answers to many questions which we put to him; after which he came back from his ecstasy and wrote down that which he had read. Wherefore, being assured by this vision

¹ The text has *scite*; but this seems an obvious error for *ante*.

² This council was held in 1140; see vol. IV, no. 15.

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which we had seen, of the truth of that youth's own vision whereat no man had been present, we prayed God with one accord that, if the matter were from Him, this might be manifested yet again for the third time. Then the aforesaid youth, before forty days had elapsed, feeling that the third vision would soon be upon him, on the Saturday before the Feast of St Lawrence, confessed and heard mass again at daybreak; after which, strengthened by the reception of the Lord's Body, he went with a few companions to pray in the secret place aforesaid. Within a brief space we who stood without heard that he had fallen, and ran in, where we found him as before, with closed eyes, lying like a corpse on the ground. Scarce had the fourth part of an hour elapsed, when lo! we heard him read certain miracles of St Eleutherius; and, to our amazement, he answered very many questions, amidst which he foretold publicly that the cathedral of Tournai should, within a brief space, have its own bishop and be restored to its former dignity.¹ Moreover, he read from the book of St Eleutherius the story of the first foundation of the city of Tournai; which he kept by heart and communicated to be written and read by us; and all of which, together with the Book of his Life, is kept in our library. If perchance, by reason of so novel a matter, somewhat less authority or faith be given to this book, yet there remaineth in confirmation Julius Caesar's story of the Gallic War; in the second book whereof the description of the devastation of the Nervii, (to wit, of the territory of Tournai at its most flourishing time,) by that same Julius, would seem to accord with the Book aforesaid. We, however, thinking it superfluous to write the whole story in this work of ours, have only borrowed such as might display the foundation or desolation of the city in ancient times.

¹ This was a burning question of the moment, and doubtless contributed much to the enthusiasm created by the clerk's visions. The chronicler relates lower down (p. 505) how these enlisted the sympathy of St Bernard, who persuaded Simon, Bishop of Noyon (to whose diocese Tournai now belonged), to suffer the erection of a separate see: the separation was presently ratified by Innocent II. One of the pleas which most moved Bernard and the Pope was that the diocese of Noyon was too cumbrous to be ruled by one man; it was admitted that, out of a population of 900,000 in the Tournai district, more than 100,000 had died unconfirmed within the last ten years. No doubt both these numbers are subject to the usual medieval exaggeration; but this would not affect the proportion of one to the other.

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The author goes on to tell how Tournai was founded 143 years after Rome and about the time of Nebuchadnezzar, by Tarquinius Priscus, who called the city "Second Rome," or "Lesser Rome"; how it was afterwards called Tournai after Turnus and Aeneas, etc., etc.

Abbot Haimon, of St Pierre-sur-Dives in Normandy, wrote to the prior of his dependent cell of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, an account of the religious associations formed to assist in church-building. Medieval chroniclers often notice briefly certain waves of enthusiasm which impelled whole populations, rich and poor, to labour together upon the town walls in times of danger, or upon some favoured church at a moment of livelier faith. The substantial accuracy of Haimon's description, apart from obvious exaggerations, is proved not only by brief notices under the year 1145 in French and English chronicles, but also by a contemporary letter from Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, to Thierry, Bishop of Amiens, printed by Mabillon in his *Annales Benedictini*, t. vi, p. 392. The archbishop describes the origin of this devotion at the cathedral fabric of Chartres in 1145, its rapid spread first to Dives and then throughout Normandy, the religious enthusiasm and the miracles, in language which bears out all the main particulars of Haimon's narrative. The full text may be found in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1860, pp. 120 ff. After the general description here given, there follows a long catalogue of miracles of the type familiar to readers of medieval documents.

II. THE RELIGION OF CHURCH-BUILDING

BROTHER HAIMON, the humble servant of the servants of the Blessed Mother of God at the monastery of Dives, desireth to his most sweet Brethren and fellow-servants in Christ that dwell at Tutbury that consolation which is promised to those who love God. Rejoice with us, Brethren, rejoice and exalt in the Lord; for the dayspring from on high hath visited us, not indeed by our own merits, but by His abundance of grace and wonted compassion; He hath poured forth upon us the bowels of His mercy, nor withheld in wrath the gifts of His loving-kindness. Oh, how great is the superfluity of His sweetness that hath been shown in our times to a world sick with sin, wounded with crimes, desperate with the enormity of its wickednesses; to a world in short which was already almost godless, because by sin it had become estranged from God: for the wickedness of man had come to such a

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pitch that, unless that loving dayspring from on high had quickly visited the world, unless it had mercifully succoured our falling race, He would by no means have found faith when He came to the earth. But, where sin abounded, grace also did much more abound. The loving Lord hath looked down from Heaven upon the children of men, because there was none who understood and sought God; almost all were gone aside from him and had become abominable in their iniquities; and there was none who thought in his heart and said, "What have I done?" Then He drew to Himself those that started away from him, and recalled the wandering, and taught them a new manner of seeking Him, a manner new, I say, and unheard-of in all ages. For who ever saw, who ever heard, in all the generations past, that kings, princes, mighty men of this world, puffed up with honours and riches, men and women of noble birth, should bind bridles upon their proud and swollen necks and submit them to waggons which, after the fashion of brute beasts, they dragged with their loads of wine, corn, oil, lime, stones, beams, and other things necessary to sustain life or to build churches, even to Christ's abode? Moreover, as they draw the waggons we may see this miracle that, although sometimes a thousand men and women, or even more, are bound in the traces (so vast indeed is the mass, so great is the engine, and so heavy the load laid upon it), yet they go forward in such silence that no voice, no murmur, is heard; and, unless we saw it with our eyes, no man would dream that so great a multitude is there. When, again, they pause on the way, then no other voice is heard but confession of guilt, with supplication and pure prayer to God that He may vouchsafe pardon for their sins; and, while the priests there preach peace, hatred is soothed, discord is driven away, debts are forgiven, and unity is restored betwixt man and man. If, however, anyone be so sunk in evil that he will not forgive those who have sinned against him, nor obey the pious admonition of the priests, then is his offering forthwith cast down from the waggon as an unclean thing; and he himself, with much shame and ignominy, is separated from the unity of the sacred people. There at the prayers of the faithful ye may see the sick, and those that are vexed with divers diseases, arise whole

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from the waggons on which they had been laid; ye may see the dumb open their mouths to God's praise, and those who are vexed by demons come to a sounder mind; ye may see the priests of Christ set each above his own waggon and exhorting all men to confession, to lamentation, to the resolution of better life, while the people fall to the ground, whereon they lie outstretched and kiss the earth again and again; old men and young men, with children of the tenderest age, cry unto the Mother of God, to whom especially they uplift their sobs and sighs from the inmost recesses of their heart with the voice of confession and praise: for this work is known to be specially hers next to her gentle Son. She more especially commended herself in this work after Him; she adorned first the Cathedral of Chartres and then our church dedicated to her with so many and so great signs and wonders that, if I would express all that it hath been vouchsafed to me to see, even in a single night, my memory and tongue would utterly fail me. For these miracles would seem to exceed both number and faith, yet I will tell of them below as truly as I may, so far as the strength which God hath given me will permit.

When, therefore, the faithful people (to return to my purpose) set on their way again with bray of trumpets and waving of banners borne before, then, marvellous to relate, the work went on so easily that nothing hindered them on their way, neither steep mountains nor deep waters rolling between, but (as we read of the ancient Hebrews that they entered Jordan in their bands), so one by one, when they came to cross the river, these suddenly entered without delay into the waters that stood over against them, under the Lord's guidance, so that even the waves of the sea at the place called St Marie du Port, while the whole company were crossing on their way to us, are credibly said to have stood away from them on their passage. Nor can we wonder that the older and more aged undertook this burdensome labour for the multitude of their sins; but what urged boys and children to this work? Who brought them to that good Teacher who hath perfected His praise in the mouths and works of children? Hath perfected, I say, that by all means the work begun among the elders may be proved to have been completed by the children;

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for you might see them, with their own little kings and leaders, bound to their laden waggons, and not dragging with bowed backs like their elders but walking erect as though they bore no burden, and (more wonderful still) surpassing them in nimbleness and speed. Thus went they in a fashion far more glorious, holy, and religious, than any words of ours could express.

When they were come to the church, then the waggons were arrayed around it like a spiritual camp; and all that night following this army of the Lord kept their watches with psalms and hymns; then waxen tapers and lights were kindled in each waggon, then the sick and infirm were set apart, then the relics of the saints were brought to their relief, then mystical processions were made by priests and clergy, and followed with all devotion by the people, who earnestly implored the Lord's mercy and that of His blessed Mother for their restoration to health. If, however, the healing were but a little delayed, nor followed forthwith after their vows, then all might have been seen putting off their clothes—men and women alike, naked from the loins upward, casting away all confusion and lying upon the earth. Moreover, their example was followed even more devoutly by the children and infants who, grovelling on the ground, not so much crept from the church porch upon their hands and knees, but rather dragged themselves flat upon their bodies first to the high altar and then to all the others, calling upon the Mother of Mercy in this new fashion of prayer, and there extorting from her surely and forthwith the pious desires of their petitions; for what—(I will not say could they not *obtain*, but)—could they not *extort* by this fashion of prayer, this affection of piety shown in their groans, their sighs, their tears, and therefore ascending even to the divine ears of the Mother of all Pity? Who indeed would not be moved, nay rather, whose stony heart would not be softened as he watched that pious humility of the innocent children dragging their naked ribs on the bare ground? Who would not be pricked to tears by those lamentable voices crying aloud to Heaven? Who, I ask, would not be bent by those tender hands and arms stretched out to be beaten with rods? For it did not suffice them (though that surely were admirable

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at so tender an age!) to cry so long with the voice of weeping; it did not suffice that so many tears should be shed, but of their own accord they must needs add bodily affliction also, to obtain the healing of these sick folk. The priests stood over them, shedding tears while they beat with their scourges upon the tender limbs thus exposed, while the children besought them not to spare their stripes nor withhold their hand in too great mercy. All voices echoed the same cry, "Smite, scourge, lash, and spare not." There might be seen more than a thousand hands outstretched to the scourge; nay, they exposed their very ears and eyes and tongues, saying, "Let these hands be smitten which have wrought iniquity; let these ears be lashed which have listened to vanity, these eyes which have seen it; this tongue and these lips which have uttered idle and lying words!" Here I ask with assurance, who is so hard-hearted that he is not moved to tears? Who is so fierce and merciless that he is not moved forthwith to pity at this pious sight? Truly the Mother of Mercy is moved without delay to pious compassion on those who afflict themselves before her, and sheweth by the immediate efficacy of her healing hand how nearly she is touched and how truly she hath heard their cries; for soon all the sick and infirm leap forth healed from waggon after waggon, casting away the staff whereupon they had hitherto leaned their crippled limbs, and hastening without support to render thanks at her altar. Blind men see, and thread their way with ease; the dropsical are relieved of their grievous load and lose their fatal thirst. What say I? Why should I enumerate one healing after another, when they are innumerable and more than man can tell? After each miracle a solemn procession is held to the high altar, the bells are rung, praise and thanks are rendered to the Mother of Mercy. This is the manner of their vigils, these are their divine night-watches, this is the order of the Lord's camp, these are the forms of new religion, these the rites, the heaven-taught rites, in their secret watches. For here nothing carnal is seen; nothing earthly of any kind; all is divine, all is done as in Heaven; heavenly altogether are such vigils, wherein nothing is heard but hymns, lauds, and thanks!

FATHER, FORGIVE THEM!

The three following passages are here put together as illustrating the too common attitude of the medieval Church towards the Jews. Popes did indeed often protect the Israelites, but (if we are to believe their contemporaries) mainly for the same causes which moved so many lay lords to protect them, as profitable beasts of commerce. Saints like St Bernard might also protest against massacres of the Jews; but the mass of the clergy, and especially of the monastic clergy, were among their hottest persecutors. No. 12 is from the *Chronicle* of Prior Geoffrey, printed in Dom Bouquet's *Historiens*, t. XII, p. 436. No. 13 is from the *Life* of St Théodard, Bishop of Narbonne (Duchesne, *Scriptores*, vol. III, p. 430). No. 14 is from the *Chronicle* of Adhémar de Chabannes (ed. Chavanon, p. 175).

12. FATHER, FORGIVE THEM!

RAYMUND TRENCHAVAI, viscount of Béziers, returned from Jerusalem in the year of Grace 1152, whereupon he received money to release the Jews from the affliction which they suffered from the Christians in the week of our Lord's Passion. I will narrate the matter at length to such as may be ignorant of it. Many Jews have dwelt in the town of Béziers from time immemorial; on Palm Sunday the bishop, having preached a mystic sermon to the people, was wont to exhort them in many words to the following effect: "Lo! ye see before you the descendants of those who condemned the Messiah, and who still deny that Mary was the Mother of God. Lo! here is the time wherein our heart echoes more often to the injury done to Christ. Lo! these are the days wherein ye have leave from the prince to avenge this so great iniquity. Now therefore, taught by the custom of your ancestors and fortified with our benediction after that of the Lord, cast ye stones against the Jews while there is yet time, and, in so far as in you lieth, atone manfully for the evil done to our Lord." When, therefore, the bishop had blessed them and (as in former days) the prince had given them the customary leave, then they would batter the Jews' houses with showers of stones, and very many were oftentimes wounded on either side. This fight was commonly continued from Palm Sunday until Easter Eve, and ended about the fourth hour; yet none were permitted to use other arms but stones alone. All this, as we have said, was forgiven to the faithless Jews by this Raymund.

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The Jews were accused of having betrayed Toulouse to the Saracens; therefore, when the city was recaptured by the citizens, all were condemned indiscriminately to death; but at length Charlemagne had mercy on them, and contented himself with the execution of the actual traitors.

13. THE SAME

NEVERTHELESS, they who had assented to, but had not been present at the aforesaid treacherous compact were suffered to live and dwell in the city only on condition of submitting to the following punishment. On the day of the Lord's Birth, on the night of His Passion, and on that of His Ascension to Heaven, one of these Jews themselves, or one of their descendants, was chosen yearly to be buffeted before the porch of the Cathedral Church, receiving one blow only from some strong man, and having first offered a tribute of three pounds of wax.

This "so holy and so just condition" was solemnly registered under the king's seal and that of many bishops, in order that whosoever presumed to break it "might know that he must be condemned to eternal vengeance and have no part in the Kingdom of Christ and God." Under Carloman the Jews attempted to shake this off; a conference was held between them and the bishops in the king's presence, the Jews in vain pleading that the sons should not bear the iniquity of their fathers. They were not only non-suited, but the court accepted St Théodard's suggestion that in future the victim should confess before the blow that he had justly deserved this as the descendant of those who had smitten Christ: in default of which confession "let him be smitten seven times, that the words may be fulfilled which are written in their law: 'I will increase your pains sevenfold, turning My face against you.'"

14. THE SAME

IT came to pass on the Good Friday of this year (1020), after the adoration of the Cross, that the city of Rome was imperilled by an earthquake and an exceeding great whirlwind; and forthwith a certain Jew brought word to the lord Pope that at that hour the Jews in their synagogues were wont to make a mock of the image of the crucified Lord; which Benedict VIII carefully sought out and, finding it to be true, he

THE EIGHTH LAMP OF ARCHITECTURE

presently condemned the authors of that crime to death. No sooner had they been beheaded than the fury of the winds ceased. At this same time Hugh, chaplain to Aimery, viscount of Rochechouart, passed his Easter at Toulouse with his master, where he gave the customary buffet to the Jew at Eastertide, with which buffet he suddenly smote the brain and eyes from the fellow's faithless head and scattered them on the earth; whereupon the dead man was taken forthwith from the church of St Stephen to the Jews' synagogue and there buried.¹

Petrus Cantor, "Peter the Precentor," was also Rector for many years of the Cathedral School at Paris—*i.e.* of perhaps the busiest centre of learning in Europe. In 1191 he was chosen Bishop of Tournai; but the election was contested, and he willingly withdrew his claim; soon afterwards he entered a Cistercian monastery, and died in 1197. Cardinal Jacques de Vitry, who had known him personally, described him as "a lily among thorns, or a rose among thistles.... A man mighty in word and in deed... whose uprightness of life added weight and gravity to his doctrine." The following extract is from his *Verbum Abbreviatum* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* vol. 205).

15. THE EIGHTH LAMP OF ARCHITECTURE

(C. lxxxvi, col. 255.)

EVEN as, in the superfluity and curiousness of raiment and food, the labour of nature is perverted and the matter falleth into wrong if it be without art, so also is it in the superfluity, curiousness and sumptuousness of buildings. For behold how far we are departed from the simplicity of the ancients in this matter of buildings. We read that Abraham, in the first days of faith, dwelt in tabernacles, possessing on this earth not even whereon the sole of his foot might rest: for he pitched his tent between Bethel and Ai, not as a citizen, but like unto a stranger and pilgrim that hath no abiding habitation; and under this roof-tree—that is, under his thatched hut—he had the angels for guests. So likewise Lot and Noah abode in

¹ The editor notes that this deed is attributed by other chroniclers to Aimery himself, and referred to the year 1102.

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tents; as some of the ancients dwelt in rocky caverns, others under the bark of hollow trees, so that, being seen to issue thence, they were fabulously believed by some to be born of stones and trees. Elisha had no dwelling of his own, but (by the charity of a widow) a little chamber under another's roof, where he had his little chamber, his little table, his little bed and his candlestick. . . . Moreover, seeing that not only in stature but even in length of life we [moderns] are abridged by reason of our manifold superfluities and our sins; seeing that the end of the world and the consummation of all things are come upon us, what madness and excess is it that we should be so solicitous concerning the bigness and curiousness and costliness of the buildings that we make, as though such works would never perish! More especially seeing that the ancients—to whom God granted longer lives, and who, born at the very birth of the world, were far removed from its end—cared for no such things, believing rather that at the end of the world all the foundations of the earth shall be moved; to wit, that she shall be purged even to her inmost bowels, so far as the works of sinful men have gone downwards, and so far as their works have risen upwards into the air. Wherefore said a certain clerk of Reims, "If these builders believed that the world would ever come to an end, no such lofty masses would be reared up to the very sky, nor would such foundations be laid even in the abysses of the earth."¹ Wherein they resemble those giants who built the tower of Babel, rearing themselves up against the Lord: wherefore let them fear lest they themselves also be scattered abroad from the face of the earth (that is, from God's Church), and be then confounded in the fires of hell." Moreover, this superfluity and costliness of buildings and stone walls is a cause why we have in these days less pity and alms for the poor; since we are not rich enough to feed them while we spend also upon such superfluous expenses. Let us remember also what Esaias saith: "Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool; what is this house that you will build to me? and what is my place

¹ Peter wrote during that wave of architectural enthusiasm described above in Extract 11. It is probable that the rebuilding of Notre Dame, his own cathedral, as we see it to-day, was already planned at this moment, if not actually begun.

THE EIGHTH LAMP OF ARCHITECTURE

of rest?" Moreover, Jerome saith, "I know that there is a people, to wit the men of Megara, who build as though they would live for ever, eating meanwhile and drinking as though they must die on the morrow; for they say, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'" Moreover, Paul the first hermit dwelt in a crypt, that is in a cave under the earth; and an angel fed him with half a loaf [daily]: wherefore St Anthony, archimandrite and father of the hermits, hearing of his sanctity, came to visit him and knocked at his door: whom Paul supposed to be a wild beast or a wolf. . . . Moreover he asked very many questions of Anthony, among which he enquired whether the idolatry [of the heathen] and the obstinacy of the Jews were yet removed, and whether the Christian religion imitated the Gentile worship in the costliness of its edifices, saying: "Do the towers and bulwarks still rise to heaven, with the palaces, and all those so lofty and costly buildings of Rome?" "Yea," quoth Anthony: whereat the other bewailed this superfluity even with tears, mourning that men were given up to such vanities, whereas Christians ought rather to exhort each other saying: "We have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come." . . . As one prelate said to another, "What meaneth this loftiness of your buildings? Wherefore have ye towers and bulwarks withal? Thou shalt not thereby be better defended against the Devil, but all the nearer to him." Moreover this lust of building is testified by the palaces of princes, reared from the tears and the money wrung from the poor. But monastic or ecclesiastical edifices are raised from the usury and breed of barren metal among covetous men, from the lying deceits and deceitful lies of hireling preachers;¹ and whatsoever is built from ill-gotten gains is in much peril of ruin: for, as Ovid saith, "A sordid prey hath no good issue." For example, St Bernard wept to see the shepherds' huts thatched with straw, like unto the first huts of the Cistercians, who were then beginning to live in palaces of stone, set with all the stars of heaven. But oftentimes to the Religious themselves, as to other men, their own offence becomes an instrument to punish them for this disease of building: for the construction of comely and ample

¹ See Guibert de Nogent, in vol. I, no. 7.

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houses is an invitation to proud guests. Even the granges of the monks are oftentimes castellated in self-defence; and Religious oftentimes conceal the truth and leave God's righteousness, lest they should lose such granges, not daring to murmur against princes, since they have lost their old freedom whereof the poet spake: "The traveller that hath no money in his purse will sing in the robber's presence." This (I say) they have lost for the sake of rich granges and lands, suffering robbers and usurers to build them dormitories and refectories, for a sign and an eternal memorial of their covetousness; though they should not have suffered this even had the money pertained to good men, but should rather have bid them apply such moneys to the feeding of the poor and the redemption of captives. Men sin even in building churches; for, seeing that their heads should be more lowly than their bodies for the mystery's sake (since our Head, which is Christ, is more lowly than His Church), yet they are now built higher.¹

For Higden, the author of the *Polychronicon*, and Trevisa, his translator, see preface to Extract 2.

16. THE EARTHLY PARADISE

(R.S. vol. 1, p. 67, *Of the Provinces of the World, and first of Paradise*, chap. x.)

FOR the knowledge of earthly Paradise three points must be i-knowe. Wherefore three questions are asked: the first question asketh, If any such place is on earth? The second asketh, Whitherwards or where is Paradise in earth? The third asketh, What country or what place is Paradise in earth? For the first four manner witnesses we have that Paradise is in earth; first, stories that liken Sodom, before it were overturned, to Paradise; the second witness is of them that assayed and wrote and said, that they had seen that place; the third

¹ Peter apparently refers here to the east end of the church, called in French *chevet*, or head. The reconstruction of cathedrals often began at this end, and the lofty choir would then contrast strangely with the old nave, as in the well-known case of Cologne Cathedral for more than five centuries after the completion of the choir in 1322.

THE EARTHLY PARADISE

witness is the four rivers, that run out of Paradise; for the head of these rivers is not found in the sea, neither in fresh water, neither in land wherein men live, though kings of Egypt and many others laboured well oft and sought thereafter. . . . Basilius, in *Hexameron*, Isidorus, *Eth. lib. quarto decimo*, and Josephus, in his first book, say that waters falling from the greatest hill of Paradise make a great pond, and out of that pond (as it were from a well) the four rivers spring. . . . The most certain author, Salustius, saith, that there cometh a well out of Cerauneys, the hills of Armenia, and springeth out at the foot of the hill that is yclept Caucasus; and that well is the head of two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates, the which two rivers sometimes are parted asunder and sometimes mingled together, and oft-times they are swallowed into the earth, and eft spring up again, and long after they go about Mesopotamia that land, and downward into the Red Sea. And though men read in books that Nilus cometh out of Paradise, yet some men affirm and say that Nilus springeth in the west side of the land of Ethiopia, not far from the hill that is yclept Atlas, and goeth about Ethiopia and downward by Egypt. (Seek the property of Nilus in the chapter *Egiptus* [of this book].) The fourth witness and proof, that such a place is in earth that is y-clept Paradise, is old fame and long-during; for men shall trow old fame, that is not withsaid; but fame of Paradise hath y-dured without withsaying six thousand year and more; for from the beginning of the world anon to our days it hath endured. And fame that is false dureth not so long, for it falleth out of mind, or is disproved by soothness y-knowe. Of the second question, that asketh in which side of the world and in what place Paradise should be; though short-witted men and little of assay say that Paradise is a long sailing-journey from earth that is habitable, and also departed from the earth and is high as the moon, [yet] it is not to be believed; for kind and reason both withsay. For if Paradise were departed asunder from the earth that men live in, neither water nor air might bear such a burden. Also the fire occupieth all the middle space between the air and the moon, then Paradise is not there; for then nothing might live therein. Also if Paradise were so high, sometime it should bereave the

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light, and make the eclipse of the moon; but of such eclipse heard we never. Also if Paradise were so high, and parted asunder from every other land and earth, how should the four rivers that spring out of Paradise pass by the air and the wide sea and come into lands that men dwell in? And if men say that Paradise is so high and in one place continued to the earth that men dwell in, then must the earth be even-long and not round all about, as wise men describe it; but that may not stand: for it is y-known by experience and assay, that in every eclipse of the moon the earth maketh a round shield. Therefore the earth, with all his parts, must needs be round. And so wise men conclude that Paradise is in the uttermost end of the east, and that it is a great country of the earth no less than Ind or Egypt; a place large and convenable for all mankind to dwell in, if mankind had not y-sinned. Of the third that asketh of Paradise, what manner place it should be, Isidore saith, *libro quarto decimo, capitulo tertio*, that this name Paradise y-turned out of Greek into Latin is to-meaning *an orchard*. But Paradise in Hebrew is yclept *Eden*, that is to-meaning *liking*; the which twain put together maketh *an orchard of liking*. No wonder, for in that place is all thing that accordeth to life. There is health, for the air is in temper neither too hot nor too cold, so that nothing that liveth may die therein: that witnesseth Enoch and Elias, that yet be there on live. [As saith] Johannes Damascenus, that place hath fair weather and mirth, for it was the cellar and place of all fairness: no manner of tree loseth there his leaves; no flowers there wither; there is mirth and sweetness; of fruit and trees that grow there, in Genesis, *secundo capitulo*, it is y-written: Every tree therein is sweet to eat and fair to sight. Therein is sikernes and surety, for the place is high. Petrus [Comestor], *capitulo tertio decimo*, saith that the water of the great flood came not in Paradise. Though some men say that Paradise is high as the moon, that is not sooth in words and in deed; but that speech is y-saved by an excusacioun of speaking, that is yclept yperbolica: so that they that so speak would mean, that Paradise in height passeth all other lands. (*Trevisa*; So we praise a worldly man Jordan or John, and say that he was the best man that ever was; and yet he was never so good as Christ.

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So in words that subtle men will divine, the meaning is true and good.)¹ But alas, as Isidore saith, *libro nono, capitulo primo*: Our way to Paradise is fast y-stopped by cause of the sin of our former father; it is y-closed all about with a fiery wall, so that the burning thereof reacheth to heaven, as some men would ween. Paradise is y-closed with that wall to hold out mankind; angels stand on that wall to keep well Paradise, that none evil ghosts may come therein.²

17. RICHARD I AND THE JEWS

(R.S. vol. viii, p. 83.)

KING HENRY is dead at Fontevraud, and his son Richard was king after him and reigned ten years. . . . This king ordered readily his things beyond the sea, and came into England for to be crowned. After his coming prisons were opened and he was crowned at London of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, the third day of September, the which is accounted an evil day by the vain belief and usage of misbelieved men, as it is y-cleped in the calendar *dies Egipciacus*, and *dies malus*, an evil day by the vain belief, as it were a day of boding of evil haps to the Jews; for the Jews of England had evil haps that day. Many Jews came to this solemnity lest the wealth that they had under the old king should be withdrawn in the new king's time. But the king hight and commanded that the Jews should not come into the church while he were y-crowned, neither into the palace while he were at meat. But while the king was at meat some of the Jews pressed among other and came within the palace gate, and one of them was y-smitten with a man's fist. Then the rabbish people weened that the king had so bidden, and up with staves, bats, and stones, and laid on the Jews and made

¹ The translator often, as here, intercalates a remark of his own, with his own name to distinguish it.

² There is a similar, but much briefer, description of the Earthly Paradise in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.* lib. l, c. lxiii. For a fourteenth-century legend, see vol. iv, no. 53.



AN AUTO-DA-FÉ OF JEWS

From a fourteenth-century MS. of the Chronicle of Abbot Gilles li Muisis, figured in *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, vol. I, p. 348.

RICHARD I AND THE JEWS

them to flee. Hereof sprang liking tidings¹ into all the city, as though the king had bidden, and up with staves to destroy the Jews. And the people, raving and crying, brake up the house where the Jews were y-flown for dread, and burned and spoiled and took what they might, and would not leave for the king's sending. . . . At the last the Jews had peace granted. . . . Also without the mischief and woe that Jews suffered in their body and chattels at Lincoln and at Lynn, yet at York after a long siege and great mischief and woe, Rabbi, master of Jews, for-cut the veins of four hundred Jews, and his own veins also, and his wife's throat. Also at Stamford Jews were y-beaten, y-slain, and y-spoiled. And one John, most hardy of Christian men, came to Northampton with many great preys; there his hosteller slew him privily by night for covetise of money that he had y-brought, and threw the body by night without the city, and fled away as a thief should. Then old wives dreamed, and there were seen wonder false sights and false tokens, and the silly men bare on hand that it was for the holiness of that man, that they held a very martyr, and worshipped the sepulchre of the dead man with solemn watches and gifts; but wise men laughed them to scorn; but clerks of the place were well-pleased therewith, for they had profit thereby. This was told the bishop, and anon he forbade the doing of simple men upon the pain of cursing, and the great boast of covetous men and of their false martyr.²

Roger of Hoveden (R.S. vol. III, p. 12) gives further details as to this massacre. "So while the king sat at meat, the chief of the Jews came with gifts for him; but, because the populace had been forbidden the day before to come to the king's court on his coronation day, therefore with eye of pride and with an insatiable heart they fell upon the Jews and despoiled them and beat them and thrust them forth from the court of the palace. Among which Jews was Benedict, a Jew of York, who, having been thus persecuted by the Christians, and so grievously wounded that he despaired of life, was baptized by William, Prior of St Mary's Abbey at York, in the church of the Holy Innocents, and was named William, and thus escaped from peril of death and from the hands of those that persecuted

¹ This is Trevisa's translation of Higden's *gratus rumor*, "tidings which gratified them."

² Trevisa has here misunderstood his original, which runs, "he profaned the insignia of this false martyr, which had been maintained by the zeal of simple and covetous folk."

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him. When, therefore, the citizens of London heard this, they fell upon the Jews of the city and burned their houses and slew them; yet a few escaped by the kindness of their Christian friends. So on the morrow of his coronation the king sent his servants and took those evil doers who burned the city—not for the Jews' sake, but for the sake of the houses and goods of Christians which they had burned and despoiled also—and some of them he hanged. And on that same day the king sent for the aforesaid William, who had been made Christian, and asked him, 'Who art thou?' And he answering said, 'I am Benedict, thine own Jew of York.' Then the king turned himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest who had told him how the said Benedict had become Christian, saying, 'Did ye not tell me that he is a Christian?' And they made answer, 'Yea, Lord.' Then said he, 'What therefore shall we do with him?' To whom the Archbishop of Canterbury, less circumspectly than his duty required, answered in the fury of his spirit, 'He will not be a Christian; let him be the Devil's man!' for he ought to have said, 'We demand the judgment of Christian folk upon him, even as he was made a Christian and now saith nay.' But, because there was none to resist, the said William returned to his Jewish pravity; and within a little while after he died at Northampton and was a stranger to the common burial-ground of the Jews, even as of the Christians; both because he had been made a Christian and because, like a dog to his vomit, he had returned to his Jewish pravity."

18. BISHOP AND POPE

(*Ib.* p. 241.)

Also that year [1253] died St Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, the ninth day of October. He was cunning in all the liberal arts, and specially he expounded many things in logic, ethics, and astrology. He sent to the fourth Pope Innocent an epistle sharp enough that beginneth in this manner, "Our Lord Jesus Christ." He sent that epistle for that the pope grieved the churches of England with taxes and with payments undue and uncustomable. Also, for that he had given his little nephew a canonry which first voided in the church of Lincoln. And this Robert would not receive the child, but he wrote to the pope and said that he neither would neither should put such to the cure of souls that could not rule himself.¹ Therefore this Robert was summoned to the [Pope's]

¹ Cf. vol. I, no. 29.

BISHOP AND POPE

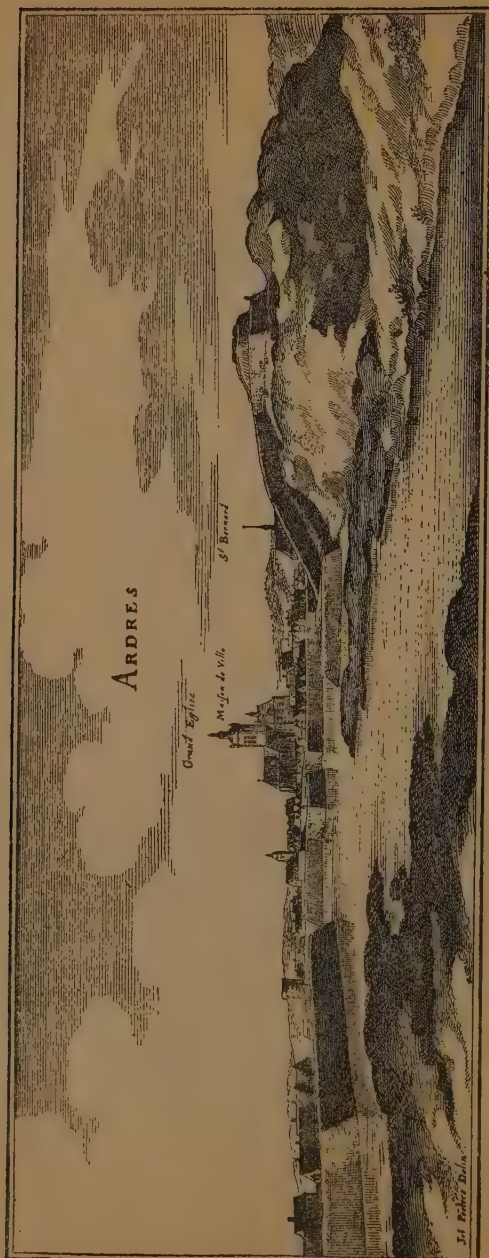
court and accursed; then from Innocent's court he appealed to Christ's own throne. Then after Robert his death, it happened in a night that the pope lay in his bed for to rest, a bishop appeared to him arrayed as a bishop, and spake to the pope and said, "Arise, wretch, and come to thy doom"; and smote him with his cross in the left side right to the heart; then on the morrow the pope's bed was found bloody, and the pope dead; therefore, though Robert was a noble man, and did often miracles, the court suffered him not to be canonised.

Lambert, parish priest of Ardres, describes in his chronicle how, about A.D. 1200, Arnold II, Count of Guisnes and Ardres, fortified the latter town for fear of his enemy the Count of Boulogne. The accompanying illustration shows clearly the state of these earthworks in the early seventeenth century.

19. FORTIFYING A TOWN

(*M.G.H.* vol. xxiv, p. 640.)

AT the advice of his father, and of the peers and burgesses of the Town (for it was in the very navel and midst of the land of Guisnes, and was already waxing richer than the other towns and cities of the said territory, wherefore it was more obnoxious to his furious adversaries, and he himself was the more carefully bent on its defence) the Count shut it in, and surrounded it himself with a most mighty moat after the fashion of the moat at St Omer, such as no hand had conceived hitherto in the land of Guisnes, nor no eye had seen. Wherefore no small multitude of workmen came together to make and dig this moat aforesaid; who, howsoever vexed by the hardships of the season and pinched by the great famine and afflicted by the labour and heat of the day, yet chattered together and lightened their labour oftentimes with merry words, whereby their hunger was appeased. Moreover, many oftentimes came together to see these great earthworks; for such poor folk as were not hired labourers forgot their penury in the joy of beholding this work; while the rich, both knights and burgesses and oftentimes priests or monks, came not daily only, but again and again every day, to refresh their bodies



THE EARTHWORKS OF ARDRES

From a seventeenth-century view in Zeiller's *Topographie*.

FORTIFYING A TOWN

and see so marvellous a sight. For who but a man stupefied and deadened by age or cares, could have failed to rejoice in the sight of that Master Simon the Dyker, so learned in geometrical work, pacing with rod in hand, and with all a master's dignity, and setting out hither and thither, not so much with that actual rod as with the spiritual rod of his mind, the work which in imagination he had already conceived?—tearing down houses and granges, hewing to the ground orchards and trees covered with flowers or fruit, seeing to it with the utmost zeal and care that the streets should be cleared, on workdays even more than on holidays, for all convenience of traffic, digging up kitchen-gardens with their crops of potherbs or of flax, treading down and destroying the crops to make straight the ways, even though some groaned in the indignation of their heart, and cursed him under their breath? Here the peasant folk with their marl-waggons and dung-carts, dragging loads of pebbles to be laid upon the road, cheered each other to the work with strokes and hearty blows on the shoulders. There, again, laboured the ditchers with their shovels, the hoe-men with their hoes, the pickers with their pick-axes, the beaters with their wooden mallets, the shavers with their shaving-irons, and the stone-layers and wallers and rammers and paviours with their proper and necessary gear and tools, the load-men and hod-men with their hods, and the turfers with their oblong sheets of turf, cut and torn at the master's bidding from all the meadows around; the catchpolls¹ too, with their rods and knotted clubs, rousing the labourers and busily urging them to their work; and ever in the forefront the masters of the work, weighing all that was done in the scales of their geometrical plan; moreover, all these labourers were driven and constrained to this work through a continual time of travail and grief, of fear and pain.

¹ Officers, constables.

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Jacques de Vitry studied at Paris, was ordained priest in 1210, and devoted himself to preaching by the advice of the Blessed Mary of Oignies, whose *Life* he also wrote. After her death in 1213 he preached the crusade first against the Albigensians and then against the Saracens. In 1214 he was elected Bishop of Acre; here he worked many years with his accustomed zeal, until at last, disheartened by the vices and failures of the crusaders, he resigned in or about 1227. Next year he was made a cardinal, and in 1239 elected Patriarch of Jerusalem; but the Pope was unwilling to spare him. He probably died in 1240. A passage from one of his letters, recording his enthusiasm for the newborn Franciscan Order, may be found in Sabatier's *St François d'Assise*, c. xiii, p. 261. His *Historia Occidentalis* and *Historia Orientalis* describe the age in language even more unfavourable than that of Roger Bacon and others quoted in this book; but the main human interest of his works is contained in the *Exempla*, or stories for the use of preachers, published by Prof. Crane for the Folk-Lore Society in 1890. A good many of these had already appeared anonymously among T. Wright's *Latin Stories*. Prof. Crane's edition, though of very great value, contains a good many misreadings which I have been able to amend by collations procured from the Paris MS. References are to folios of the MS. Lat. 17,509 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and to pages in Crane's edition.

20. NATURAL HISTORY

(Fol. 63, p. 128.)

SOME, though they are fervent at the beginning of their conversion, grow lukewarm in the middle and utterly cold at the end, like unto the bird which the French call *bruer*.¹ This bird is at first of great honour, taking larks and partridges like a noble fowl; in his second year he taketh sparrows and small birds; in his third year beetles, mice, flies and worms; and thus he declineth ever to the worse, until at length he becometh so slothful as to suffer himself to die of hunger.

(Fol. 77, p. 129.)

Some [Christians] are like unto the boy whom the French call *chamium* [changeling], who draineth his nurses dry of milk and yet profiteth not nor cometh to any increase, but hath a hard and inflated belly; yet all the while his body thriveth not.

(Fol. 151, p. 122.)

The mother of the roe-deer fawn, when she goeth forth

¹ *Coq de bruyère, capercailzie.*

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to seek her food, smiteth him with her foot and maketh a sign that he should not wander forth nor leave that place. The fawn is so obedient that, even when men find him, he stirreth not from that place but suffereth himself to be taken, becoming obedient unto death. How much more should we obey God our Father, and our Mother Church, and devote the flower of our youth to the Lord.

The Lateran Council in 1215, and the growing influence of the Friars, undoubtedly made for a somewhat stricter standard among the parish clergy. In the great Synod of Oxford, held by Archbishop Stephen Langton in 1222, archdeacons are bidden "to see on their visitations that the canon of the mass is amended, and that the priests can properly pronounce at least the words of the canon and of baptism, and that they rightly understand this part [of the service books]." Similar decrees were repeated by English Church Councils down to the Reformation. It was the same in other countries: *e.g.* the Council of Béziers in 1233 provided that none should receive the clerical tonsure who could not read and sing. The following actual examinations of priests will help to illustrate these decrees and throw light on the details of medieval grammar teaching; they should be compared with one of the extracts (no. 57) from Grandisson's *Register* in vol. I, and with St Bonaventura's description of the parish clergy at this time (vol. I, no. 61). This extract is from the *Register of St Osmund*, R.S. vol. I, p. 304 (Dean and Chapter Livings).

21. CLERICAL EXAMINATIONS

Acts of the Chapter held by William, dean of Salisbury, at Sonning, in the year of our Lord 1222, on the Friday next before the Feast of St Martin. . . . Vitalis, a priest, perpetual vicar of Sonning, presented the chaplain [*i.e.* curate] named Simon whom he has with him, and whom he lately engaged until Michaelmas. This Simon, examined as to his Orders, said that he was ordained subdeacon at Oxford by a certain Irish bishop named Albin, then suffragan to the Bishop of Lincoln, from whom also he received deacon's orders; and those of priest from Hugh [of Wells] now Bishop of Lincoln, four years past. He was examined in the Gospel of the first Sunday in Advent, and was found insufficient, and unable to understand what he read. Again he was tried in the Canon

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of the Mass, at the words *Te igitur, clementissime Pater*, etc.¹ He knew not the case of *Te*, nor by what word it was governed; and when we bade him look closely which could most fittingly govern it, he replied: "*Pater*, for He governeth all things." We asked him what *clementissime* was, and what case, and how declined; he knew not. We asked what *clemens* was; he knew not. Moreover, the said Simon knew no difference between one antiphon and another, nor the chant of the hymns, not even of the hymn *nocte surgentes*, nor did he know by heart aught of the service or psalter. Moreover, he said that it seemed indecent that he should be examined before the dean, since he was already in Holy Orders. We asked him where he was when he received his priest's Orders: he answered that he had forgotten. He is amply illiterate. [*Sufficienter illiteratus est.*]

Wokingham is served by Philip, a chaplain, who hires that chapel on farm for ten marks, and the chapel of Sandhurst for a mark, but he takes two marks from the priest who is there. He was not examined, since he is of approved life and good testimony. Where ordained. . . [*hiatus in MS.*].

John of Hurst presented his chaplain, Richard by name, born at Ross [*? Rosam.*]. . . . He is a youth, and knoweth nothing. He saith that he received the subdiaconate at London, from Bishop William; the diaconate six years ago from Peter Bishop of Winchester; and the priesthood that same year from William bishop of Chester. Examined on the Advent collect *Excita quaesumus Domine* [Stir up, we beseech Thee, O Lord] he said that he would answer naught of this matter: likewise also when we tried him in the Canon; (for, after his priest had left the church first after the examination, and had joined the rest, then all fell to one accord that they would not answer; yet some, at the earnest instance of the Dean, answered afterwards in detail.) Having been questioned afterwards, he would not be examined at the end of the Chapter and remained suspended [from his office].

¹ The canon is the most sacred part of the mass, beginning with the prayer which the priests are here asked to construe: "We therefore humbly pray and beseech Thee, most merciful Father," etc., etc. The whole canon would occupy about a page and a half of this book in print.

CLERICAL EXAMINATIONS

John of Arborfield presented his chaplain Reginald, born at Windsor. He was, as he saith, ordained to the subdiaconate at Salisbury, the diaconate and priesthood at Winchester, four years now past. Examined in the prayer, "*Excita*," etc. and the passage of the Canon *Te igitur*, etc. he utterly refused to answer. Afterwards he came and offered himself for examination, and knew nothing, whether of reading or of singing.

The chaplain of Sandhurst, John of Sherborne, saith that he was ordained subdeacon at Chichester, deacon at Winchester by the bishop Godfrey in Ireland. . . [*hiatus in MS.*], and hath now served the aforesaid chapel four years. Examined in the prayer *Excita* and in *Te igitur*, he knew nothing to answer. Examined in chant, in the Advent Sunday anthem *Ad te levavi*, he could not chant it.

Again Vitalis, priest, presented for the chapel of Ruscombe the priest Jordan, born at Shatton in Dorset, ordained subdeacon and deacon (as he saith) at Salisbury by Bishop Herbert, and priest by the Bishop of Rochester, Gilbert de Glanville, before the General Interdict [of 1208]. Examined, like the rest, in *Excita* and *Te Igitur*, he knew nothing. A book was given him to chant from: he would not. We commanded Vitalis to find good chaplains for this place and for Sonning, or the Dean will take the benefices into his own hands.

At Arborfield also was an old man in the [priest's] house named Richard Bullock, a priest of Reading; and when the Dean examined him whether he could see and could pronounce the words completely, it was found that he could not completely pronounce a single word of the Gospel or the Canon.¹ Wherefore the Dean bade John of Arborfield suffer him no longer to minister in that chapel.

¹ He need not have been illiterate; he was perhaps simply inarticulate with age. It must be remembered that the Host cannot be effectually consecrated unless the four words *Hoc est Corpus Meum* are fully and correctly pronounced.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

From the *Regestrum Visitationum* of Odo Rigaldi, Archbishop of Rouen, 1248-1275 (see preface to no. 44 in vol. I), pp. 787, 159, 173, 217, 332, 395.

22. ANOTHER BATCH

IN the year of our Lord 1252, at [our palace of Mont] Ste-Catherine, (in the presence of Masters William, Archdeacon of Eu and Simon, Archdeacon of the French Vexin, Master Peter, Official of Rouen and Canon of Cambrai, William of Salomonville and Stephen of Lorey canons of Rouen; Brothers Hardouin and Peter, Friars Minor and our companions; Masters Peter of Aumâle and Robert of St-Germain, William son of Jordan, John Baston, William of Plassay, Everard, and Stephen priest of Bleneau,) we examined John, a priest presented to the church of Bernetot, in the lessons for St Cecilia's Day: *Dixit Valerianus*, etc. Asked the signification of the words *tertio miliario* he first answered "the third miler" [*le tierz miller*] and afterwards "I know not." Item, when we asked how *transeuntibus* was declined, he said *hic et hoc transeunt*. Item, asked to decline *transire*, he said *transio, transis, transivi, transire, transiundi, transitrundo, ansiundum, transimus, transior, transiris*; beyond which he would say nothing more. Asked to parse *omni* he said it was an adverb. Asked the signification of *optime*, he said "much," and again "very." Examined in the word *consciis*, what figure and species, he said "simple figure¹ and primitive species." Asked to conjugate *perferam* he did well as far as the supine, for which he said *perfertum, perfertu*.

Again, he was examined at our bidding by Master Simon, Archdeacon of the French Vexin, in the presence of Stephen Gordian of the Friars Minor of Rouen, and Nicholas of Haqueville, Master Baldwin, priest of Dieppe and Dean of Christianity at Rouen, and Master William Jordan, on the 31st of May, in the lower hall next the chapel of our manor of Déville, upon the exposition of the gospel for the Con-

¹ He was wrong here: the examiners were driving at the fact that *consciis* is a compound adjective: see Donatus, ed. H. Keil, p. 53. The second answer is apparently right, meaning that the word was, in modern terminology, of the 1st declension of adjectives.

CLERICAL EXAMINATIONS

version of St Paul: *Quia dilectissimi fratres annum Beati Pauli*, etc. Asked the meaning of *annuum* he answered "annual"; asked again what "annual" was, he said "many times"; asked "how many times?" he said "every day." Again, having been examined as to the signification of these words: *restat ut aliquid vobis de sancti ewangelii lectione intimare studeamus*. . . .¹

For the rectory of Petiville there was presented to us one Richard of Fontbois, priest, whom we rejected because we found him insufficiently lettered [*insufficientis litterature*].

May 30, 1253 [at our manor of Déville]. On this day, the Tuesday before Whitsunday, we examined Geoffrey, a clerk, presented to the rectory of St Richard de Harcourt, on the Scripture words *omnia autem aperta et nuda sunt eius oculis*.² Asked what part of speech *aperta* was, he answered "a noun"; asked whether it might be any other, he said "Yes, a participle." Asked from what verb it came, he said from the verb *aperio*, *aperis*, *aperii*, *aperire*, *aperior*, *aperieris*, et cetera. Asked what *compati* was formed from, he said from *cum* and *pateo*, *pates*, *patui*, *patere*, *patendi*, *patendo*, *patendum*, *passum*, *passu*, *patiens*, *passurus*, *pateor*, *pateris*, *passus*, *patendus*. Asked what *pateo*, *pates* signified he said, "to open or to suffer." Asked to parse *absque* he said "a conjunction": asked of what kind, he said "causal." Examined in chant, he could sing nothing without solfeggio or note. We therefore, both because of this his insufficiency, and because after due inquisition he was found to be ill-famed of incontinence and quarrelsomeness, thought fit not to admit him to the said rectory. Those present were Brother Osmund, Brother Walter de Minières, Brother Roger his cousin, all Friars

¹ The rest of this passage is blank in the MS. It is evident that the first examination left the archbishop still uncertain; and he may very possibly have been driven to accept John even after this second; it was a serious matter to "plough" a priest who had been already passed and ordained by another bishop, though the next paragraph shows us that Odo did not shrink from this when necessary. It was this somewhat inconvenient zeal, together with his work side by side with St Bonaventura at the Council of Lyons, which earned him among his contemporaries the surname of "the Pattern of Good Life."

² "All things are naked and open unto the eyes of Him with Whom we have to do." Note that this Geoffrey was not yet a priest; this was one of those frequent cases where a clerk in lower orders had been presented to a benefice.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Minor, Ralph the priest of Déville, Master Maur our physician; Master Peter of Aumâle, Stephen, priest of Bleneau, and Everard son of the Count, our clerks.

Nov. 20, 1253. This day, at Déville, was examined William de Wardres, presented to the rectory of Ancourt, in the lessons for the Feast of the Purification, beginning *illa namque salus*; and he construed thus. *Illa* this is, *salus* salvation, *generata* engendered, *de Virgine Maria* of the Virgin Mary, *hoc est* that is, *die* the day, *quadragesimo* of the space of forty days, *Maria* O thou Mary, *genetrix* mother, *hodie* to-day, *ab ipsa* from her, *deportata* carried, *ad templum* to the temple, *ipsius* of him, *ut ipse* that he, *redemptor noster* our father, *sit* may be, *presentatus* presented, *sic* in such a fashion, *cum substantia nostre carnis* in the substance of our flesh, *etiam* further, *adimplet* he fills, *ipsam* her. Being asked what this signified in French, he said that he understood not the sense well. Asked what part of speech is *adimplet* he said "A verb" and conjugated it well. Asked what was the word *urnis* which had been omitted, he answered "paps."¹ Again, being asked to parse *genetricis* he said "noun" and declined it thus:

N. hic genetrix
G. huius genetricis
D. huic genetrici
Ac. hanc genetricem
V. genetrix
Ab. ab hoc genetrice.

He said that it had no plural. Present at this examination: Master Simon, archdeacon of Eu, Stephen his clerk, Masters Peter of Aumâle and Hugh of Courtrai, Canons of Rouen; Sir Hugh the almoner and Everard the lord Archbishop's clerk. [William is mentioned no more in the Register, so we may hope that he passed.]

June 12, 1255. [At Bondeville] we examined Geoffrey de Tonneville, clerk, presented to us by Thomas de Pavilly, esquire, for the rectory of St Mary at Pavilly, who, beginning at the words *Factus autem cum filii Dei venissent quadam die* (Job ii, 1) when he came to *circuivi terram et perambulavi*,

¹ There is very likely a slip here in Bonnin's transcription: *ulnis* would mean "in her arms," and a reader who caught occasional glimpses of the sense might well interpret this "at her breast."

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being asked to decline *circuivi* replied *circuo, circuis, circuivi, circuire, circuendi, circuendo, circuendum, circuitum, circuitu, circuens, circuiturus, circuo, circueris*. Asked what conjugation, answered "third." Asked to parse *coram* said "A preposition." Asked again to parse *stetit* he said, "a verb." Asked how it was declined, said *sto, stas, steti, stare, standi, stando, standum, statum, statu, stor, staris, status sum, stari*. Asked to parse *factum* said "a participle"; asked of what tense, said "Past." Asked of what signification, said "neuter."¹ Asked to derive it, said "from *facio, facis*." Asked to conjugate it, replied *facio, facis, feci, facere, faciendi, faciendo, faciendum, factum, factu, faciens, facturus, fio, fis, factus sum, fieri, fictus, fiendus*. Again, being examined in the passage beginning *Furat Valerianus*, he read very badly [*pessime*] and construed thus: *Valerianus* Valerian, *jurat* swears, *sponsus* thou O spouse, *prodere* to put forth, *nulla* nothing, *detegere* to discover, *Illa ait*, etc. [In the absence of further record, we may hope that Geoffrey also satisfied the examiners.]

Feb. 22, 1258 [at Paris]. On this day we examined one William, a priest, presented to us for the rectory of Rothoirs, in the presence of [4 assessors]; and he was examined in a lesson from the book of Genesis, namely *Ade vero*, etc. (Gen. ii, 20). Asked to construe and expound it in the French tongue, he said thus: *Ade* Adam, *vero* certainly, *non inveniebatur* did not find, *adjutor* a helper, *similis* like, *eius* of him. Asked how *inmisit* is conjugated, he said thus: *Inmitto, -tis, -si, -tere, -tendi, -do -dum, inmittum-tu, inmisus, inmittendus -tor-teris, inmisus -tendus*. Again he construed: *Dominus* our Lord, *inmisit* sent, *soporem* encephalitis² in Adam . . . [hiatus]. Again, being asked to conjugate *replevit* he said thus: *reppleo -ples, -vi -re, reppleendi -do -dum, repletum -tu, replens, repleturus, repleor -ris -tus, repleendus*. Again we made him divide *repleendi*, and he said: *Re-ple-en-di*. Again, he was examined in chant at the anthem *Voca operarios*, and knew not how to chant.

¹ The words are "requisitus cuius significationis, respondit quod neutri (sic) significationis."

² Even Prof. Léon Clédat acknowledges himself unable to explain this word; it only seems certain that it does not mean *sleep*, which the candidate should have said.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

March 13, 1258. An appeal [to the Pope] was lodged against us by Master Nicholas of Condé, clerk and proctor of the Abbot of Fécamp, in the name of that Abbot and monastery. . . to which appeal we thought right not to defer, since the said Robert of Courcelles [priest, presented by them to the living of All Saints, Fécamp] was twice examined by our counsellors and found to be insufficiently lettered.¹

March 16, 1259-60 we examined Nicholas called Quesnel, clerk, presented to us for the church of St Mary at Wynemer-ville, in the Lesson *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram* (Gen. i, 1) and he construed: *Deus* God, *creavit* created [*cria*], *celum* the heaven, *et terram* and the earth. We made him decline *Deus*, which he did well enough except that, in the accusative plural, he said "*Deos* or *Dos*." Again we asked him to parse *inanis*: he replied "a noun," and yet he said that there were two parts of speech, and declined it thus: Nom. *hec inanis*, Gen. *huius inanis*, Dat. *huic inani*, according to the 3rd declension, except that in the vocative plural he said *O inane*; he said that *inanis* signified "an evil thing." He answered fairly well concerning the accent of the middle syllable. Then we asked him to parse *ferebatur*: he said it was a verb, and translated it "he carried": then he conjugated *fero*, *fers*, up to the supine, where he omitted the supine, for he said there was none;² for participles he gave *ferens*, *ferturus*, and said that the verb was neuter, and in the conjunctive mood, and past perfect. Moreover he conjugated fairly well the word *dixit*. Again he thus conjugated the verb *fiat*: *fio*, *fis*, *fui*, *esse*, *fiendi-do-dum*, *factum-tu*, *fiens*, *facturus*. We asked him whether it had a passive, and he said: "No, for it is neuter." We asked him the sense of the words *et vidit lucem quod esset bona* (Gen. i, 4) and he said "it was a good thing to do." Again, he thus conjugated the verb *divisit*: *divido*,

¹ This shows that these records of examinations in Odo's diary are not exhaustive, since there is no other record of this Robert, unless the following refers to him: "Oct. 2, 1257/8. We caused to be inspected the enquiries made at our bidding by the dean of Valmont concerning the life, morals, and conversation, etc., of Robert de Ros, priest, presented to us for the living of All Saints; wherefrom it appears that the said priest had received his sacerdotal Orders from an extraneous bishop, without licence from his own bishop: therefore we would not admit him to the aforesaid benefice."

² Or perhaps "did not say any": the text runs "nullum dixit."

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dividis, divisi, dividere fairly well until the passive, when he said *divideor, divideris*, with a long middle syllable. We asked him which kind [*cuius generis*] it was; he first said the third, and then the fourth, saying that he knew the fourth because it made its genitive in *i* and its dative in *o*.¹ Again, he declined *hic vesper* according to the third declension, and made the vocative *o vespere*. He would not chant, and said that he knew nothing of chant.

At the same place and time he put forth the following words: "Seeing that you, reverend Father, by the Grace of God Archbishop of Rouen, will not admit me Nicholas called Quesnel as rector of the church of St Mary at Wynemerville, or even confer the said benefice upon me, because you think me insufficiently lettered, although I Nicholas have been presented to the said church by the true patron, and it is vacant and free; and because you would have your enquiry made into the aforesaid matters, and especially concerning my morals, honesty and life, and the truth and lawfulness of the patronage was fully proved to you; therefore I the aforesaid Nicholas, feeling aggrieved herein, by the authority and will of John called Quesnel, patron of the said church, appeal in writing to the Apostolic See, and pray that you will give and seal me letters apostolic,² which if you refuse to give and seal for me, again I appeal in writing to the same Apostolic See, submitting myself and the aforesaid church, by the authority of the said patron, to the Pope's protection." To which appeal we thought not fit to defer, seeing that we found him in our examination to be of utterly insufficient learning, as for example he knew neither to read competently, nor to construe, nor would he chant. Present at the aforesaid examination and appeal [here follow the names of five assessors. There are no more entries on this subject; the appeal probably failed, for Odo was in high personal favour both with St Louis and with the Pope].

¹ According to Donatus (ed. Keil, p. 139) his answer is hopelessly wrong from the first, as it certainly is at the last. But the examiners do not seem always to have followed the terminology of Donatus.

² Letters dimissory, permitting a cleric to leave his diocese in order to appeal to the Papal Court, or for other reasons.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Compare with these an extract from the last book which Erasmus wrote, within a few months of the Dissolution of the monasteries in England (*Ecclesiastes*, in *Opp.* vol. v, col. 808, Leyden, 1704). It was from this same bishop that Erasmus had received his own orders.

22 A. CLERICAL IGNORANCE

It will not be out of place here to relate what befel the late bishop of Utrecht, David, son of duke Philip the Good [of Burgundy]. He was a man of conspicuous learning and an excellent theologian, which is very rare among nobles, and especially among bishops of that province, who are burdened with worldly power. He had heard that, among so many who were promoted to Holy Orders, very few were really educated.¹ He resolved to get nearer to the truth; and had his own throne placed in the hall to which the candidates were admitted. He himself propounded questions to each, in proportion to the dignity of the Order which they sought; easier questions to candidates for the subdiaconate, somewhat harder for the deacons, and theological for the priests. Do you ask what happened? He rejected all the candidates but three. Those who usually managed these matters felt that it would be a terrible disgrace to the Church if three only were ordained out of three hundred. The bishop, a man of fervid enthusiasm, answered that it would be a greater disgrace to the Church if they admitted, instead of men, creatures that were more foolish than asses. He was urged to moderate his sentence, by those who reaped a certain profit from this affair; let him consider that these days no longer produce saints like Paul and Jerome, and that we must receive men of the sort that the age produces. The bishop persisted, saying that he did not require Pauls or Jeromes, but that he would not admit asses for men. This compelled them to produce their last argument. It was brought forward; and what was it? "If" (said they) "you are resolved to persist in this purpose, then you must increase our salaries; otherwise, without these asses, we shall starve." That was the battering-ram which beat down the bishop's lofty spirit. Yet this ram

¹ *Paucissimos esse qui literas scirent.*

CLERICAL IGNORANCE

might have been rebutted in many ways: "Your salaries are not given for luxury and ambition but for temperate living; and what we give is enough for this." But this might perchance have been retorted upon the bishop, whose ecclesiastical income is given for plain living, and not for a noisy crowd of retainers. It would have been nobler, therefore, to say: "If you lack anything for your use, it shall be patched up in some other way, or from my revenues, provided only that the Church be not defiled by such ministers." Skilful generals would rather lead a moderate troop of good fighting-men than a numerous crowd of useless soldiers. What does it matter whether the Church has very few priests, well fitted for ecclesiastical functions, or a numberless crowd of useless folk who rather burden than support her? . . . Nowadays, in some regions, every house has its private chapel and priests; and, everywhere, just as suffragan bishops are created to be hired by any bishop who wishes, so priests are consecrated with no fixed income, but such as even any leathermonger's wife may hire, to escort his mistress to church, and kneel thrice at her feet before he hands her book, and bring her home again with like ceremony. Moreover, they are created for these purposes *per saltum*,¹ as the phrase goes, and before the lawful age, provided only that they pay a fee. . . . Now, in some places, if the corpse of some rich and ambitious man is to be buried, what a crowd of priests we see! Hundreds flock thither to sing the dirge and celebrate the funeral-feast. If the Gospel is to be preached, how few there are! You shall scarce find one.

¹ That is, taking two, or often more, orders simultaneously, instead of waiting for the intervals prescribed as safeguards by Canon Law.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Matthew Paris, monk of St Albans and Historiographer Royal to Henry III, is unquestionably the greatest of the English medieval chroniclers, and has few rivals in Europe during this period. He was a man of many and various accomplishments—diplomatist, mathematician, poet, theologian, and artist, though the best authorities ascribe to other hands nearly all the beautiful drawings which illustrate the MSS. of his works. Far more extracts would have been given here, but that a complete translation of his *Chronicle*, uninspired but otherwise satisfactory, has been published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library. He died in or about the year 1259.

23. THE WANDERING JEW

IN this year [1228] a certain archbishop of Armenia came on a pilgrimage to England that he might visit the relics of our English saints and the holy places, as he had done in other kingdoms. He showed letters from the lord Pope commending his presence to men of religion and prelates, that he might be received by them with due reverence and honourably treated. Coming at length to St Albans that he might pray to the first martyr of England, he was received with all reverence by the abbot and brethren; and, being somewhat wayworn, he tarried awhile with us for refreshment of himself and his men, during which time he enquired much through his interpreters of the rites and religion of this country and our manner of life, relating still more marvellous things concerning the eastern countries. . . . When we enquired of him, among other things, of that Joseph of whom men often spake (who was present at the Lord's Passion and spake with Him and liveth still in proof of the Christian faith), asking whether he had ever seen him or had heard aught of him, then the archbishop answered and told us the whole story in order, and after him a certain knight of Antioch, who was in his train and served as his interpreter (who also was known to a certain servant of our abbot named Henry Spigurnel), expounding his master's tale, said in the French tongue: "Well doth my lord," said he, "know that man; and, not long before he set out on his journey to these western parts, this same Joseph ate at my lord archbishop's table in Armenia, whom my lord had oftentimes seen, and heard his speech." When therefore we enquired of all that had passed between our Lord Jesus

THE WANDERING JEW

Christ and this same Joseph, he answered: "At the time of our Lord's Passion, when He had been taken by the Jews and brought into the judgment hall before Pilate the governor, to be judged of him, the Jews constantly accused Him; but Pilate, finding in Him no cause of death, said to them: 'Take ye Him and judge Him according to your law.' Yet at length, when the clamours of the Jews increased, Pilate released Barabbas at their petition and delivered Jesus unto them to be crucified. So when the Jews drew Jesus out of the Judgment Hall, as He came to the door, then Cartaphilus who was door-keeper of that hall and of Pontius Pilate, as Jesus went through the door, smote Him in scorn with his fist upon the back, and said mockingly: 'Hasten, Jesus! Why tarriest Thou?' Jesus, therefore, looking round upon him with a stern eye and threatening mien, said: 'I go, and thou shalt await My return': as if He had said with the Evangelist: 'The Son of Man goeth indeed as it is written of Him, but thou shalt await My second coming.' This Cartaphilus, therefore, waiteth still according to the Lord's word. At the time of the Passion he was about thirty years old; and ever, when he is come once more in process of time to the age of 100 years, he is seized as with an incurable sickness and rapt into an ecstasy, after which he recovereth and is brought to life again at that same age of thirty years which he had at our Lord's Passion, so that he might say in truth with the Psalmist: 'My youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.' When therefore the Catholic Faith spread abroad after the Lord's death, then was this same Cartaphilus baptized by Ananias (who also baptized the Apostle Paul), and was called by the name of Joseph. He dwelleth oftentimes in both parts of Armenia and in other eastern regions, living among bishops and other prelates of the church, a man of holy conversation and religion, of few and circumspect words, for he saith nothing unless he be first asked by the bishops and men of religion, and then will he speak concerning all things of old time and all that was done in our Lord's Passion and Resurrection, and of the witnesses to the resurrection, that is to say, those who rose again with Christ and came into the Holy City and appeared unto many. He will tell also of the Apostles' Creed and how

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they separated and how they preached; and all this without laughter or any levity of speech, without any note of blame or rebuke, as one who is rather busied with weeping and the fear of the Lord, ever hearing and ever bearing in mind the coming of Jesus Christ with fire to judge the world, lest he may find Him wroth at that Last Day of trial, Whom as He hastened on to His Passion he mocked and provoked to that merited vengeance. Many come to him from the farthest parts of the world, delighting to see him and speak with him; and if they be trustworthy men he will briefly solve their questions on doubtful matters. He refuseth all gifts offered to him, contenting himself with moderate food and raiment. Therein lieth ever his hope of salvation, that he erred in ignorance; seeing that the Lord said and prayed: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' For Paul, after sinning in ignorance, obtained grace, and likewise Peter also, who denied his Lord through frailty, that is, through fear; but Judas, who betrayed Him through the iniquity of covetousness, hanged himself with a rope and his bowels burst forth, and he ended his unhappy life without hope of heaven. Upon such reasons does this Cartaphilus set his hope of indulgence, and thus doth he defend his error." Again we enquired of the aforesaid archbishop concerning Noah's ark, which is said still to rest on the mountains of Armenia, and of many other things. He said that this is true, and gave his testimony to the truth; for the reverence of his person, and his testimony, sealed as it were with the seal of his honour, impressed faith upon the minds of his hearers, and confirmed his story by the seal of reason. Moreover, the full truth of these things is testified by a certain noble knight, valiant in war, Richard d'Argenton, who devoutly visited the east in his own person as a pilgrim, together with many others, and died afterwards as a bishop.

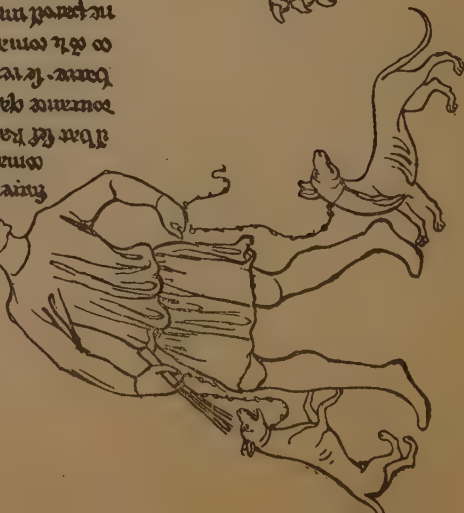
LION TAMING

Villard de Honnecourt was probably the architect of Notre Dame de Cambrai, the reconstruction of which was begun in 1230 and finished in 1250. The following extract is from fol. 46 of his sketch-book, which by a fortunate chance has survived to the present day, and was published in facsimile by Lassus in 1858. His notes show that he specially studied the cathedrals of Reims and Laon, where he records his high admiration of that tower with its sculptured oxen which still looks out over the plain. He was also on the Rhine, at Lausanne, and in Hungary, where he probably built one of the churches of this date which show strong French influence. Apart from strictly technical points, his sketch-book shows an interest in such miscellaneous matters as perpetual motion, mechanical toys, trigonometry, engines of war, elementary surgery, and zoology. Its introduction runs (fol. 2): "Villard de Honnecourt saluteth you, and beseecheth that all those who labour at the divers kinds of works contained in this book may pray for his soul and keep him in remembrance; for in this book you may find great help to instruct yourselves in the principles of masonry and woodwork. You will find also the method of portraiture and draughtsmanship, after the laws and principles of geometry."

24. LION TAMING

(Fol. 46.)

Now will I speak to you of the instruction of the lion. He who would teach the lion hath two dogs. When he would fain make the lion do anything, he commandeth him to do it, and if the lion murmur, then he beateth the dogs; whereof the lion misdoubteth him sore, when he seeth the dogs beaten; wherefore he refraineth his courage and doeth that which hath been commanded. And if the lion be wroth, thereof will I speak no whit, for then would he obey neither for good nor evil usage. And know well that this lion here was portrayed from the life.



ROGER BACON'S DESPAIR

For a brilliant popular account of Roger Bacon see J. R. Green's *Short History*, chap. III, sect. iv; for a far more authoritative estimate of his work, Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. II, pp. 522 ff. Bacon, in Dr Rashdall's words, was "the most astonishing phenomenon of the medieval schools... unlike other medieval thinkers, orthodox or unorthodox, he saw that the study of Greek was the true key to the meaning of Aristotle, and a knowledge of the Bible in the original the true foundation for a fruitful study of theology. All the characteristic ideas of the sixteenth century are held in solution, as it were, in the writings of Roger Bacon, mixed up no doubt with much that is redolent of the age in which he lived; but, of all the anticipations of modern ways of thinking with which his works abound, the most remarkable is his plan of educational reform."

After twenty years of study and experiments, during which he expended on books and instruments the equivalent of nearly £40,000 modern money, Bacon joined the Franciscan Order, a step which he evidently lived to repent. His superiors forbade him to publish anything, and he would have died unknown but for the intervention of Clement IV, who had heard of him before his elevation to the papacy, and who in 1266 sent a letter bidding him write down his ideas "without delay, and with all possible secrecy, without regard to any contrary precept of your Superiors or any constitution of your Order." In less than two years Bacon wrote three works extending to some 600 folio pages of print—the *Opus Majus*, *Opus Minus*, and *Opus Tertium*. In 1271 he followed these up with the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, from which the following extracts are taken (ed. J. S. Brewer, R.S. 1859).

25. ROGER BACON'S DESPAIR

(p. 398.)

NEVERTHELESS, seeing that we consider not these hindrances from our youth upwards, but neglect them altogether therefore we are lost with infinite error, nor can we enjoy the profit of wisdom in the church and in the three other regions whereof I have spoken above.¹ For these hindrances bring it about that men believe themselves to stand in the highest glory of wisdom, so that there was never so great an appearance of wisdom nor so busy exercise of study in so many branches and in so many parts of the world, as in the last forty years.² For Doctors, and especially Doctors of

¹ *I.e.* the conduct of the State, the conversion of the heathen, and the repression of reprobate sinners (p. 397).

² *I.e.* since the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican Friars, the Student-Orders, as he calls them below, in contradistinction to the monks, who had already grown careless of learning. Cf. Richard de Bury's *Philobiblion*.

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Divinity, are scattered abroad in every city and town and borough, especially by means of the two Student-Orders; and this hath been only for the last forty years, more or less. Yet the truth is that there hath never been so great ignorance and such deep error, as I will most clearly prove later on in this present treatise, and as is already manifestly shown by facts. For more sins reign in these days than in any past age; and sin is incompatible with wisdom. Let us look upon all conditions in the world, and consider them diligently; everywhere we shall find boundless corruption, and first of all in the Head. For the Court of Rome, which once was ruled by God's wisdom, and should always be so ruled, is now debased by the constitutions of lay Emperors, made for the governance of lay-folk and contained in the code of civil law. The Holy See is torn by the deceit and fraud of unjust men. Justice perisheth, all peace is broken, infinite scandals are aroused. This beareth its fruit in utterly perverse manners; pride reigneth, covetousness burneth, envy gnaweth upon all, the whole [Papal] Court is defamed of lechery, and gluttony is lord of all. . . if this be so in the Head, what then is done among the members? Let us see the prelates; how they run after money, neglect the cure of souls, promote their nephews, and other carnal friends, and crafty lawyers who ruin all by their counsels; for they despise students in philosophy and theology, and hinder the two Orders, who come forward to serve the Lord without hire, from living in freedom and working for the salvation of souls. Let us consider the religious Orders: I exclude none from what I say. See how far they are fallen, one and all, from their right state; and the new Orders [of Friars] are already horribly decayed from their first dignity. The whole clergy is intent upon pride, lechery, and avarice; and wheresoever clerks are gathered together, as at Paris and Oxford, they scandalize the whole laity with their wars and quarrels and other vices. Princes and barons and knights oppress and rob each other, and trouble their subjects with infinite wars and exactions, wherein each striveth to despoil the other even of duchies and kingdoms, as we see in these days. For it is notorious that the King of France hath most unjustly despoiled the King of England of that

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great territory; and Charles [of Anjou] hath even now crushed the heirs of Frederick [II] in mighty battles. Men care not what is done nor how, whether by right or wrong, if only each may have his own will; meanwhile they are slaves to gluttony and lechery and the wickedness of other sins. The people, harassed by their princes, hate them and keep no fealty save under compulsion; moreover, corrupted by the evil examples of their betters, they oppress and circumvent and defraud one another, as we see everywhere with our own eyes; and they are utterly given over to lechery and gluttony, and are more debased than tongue can tell. Of merchants and craftsmen there is no question, since fraud and deceit and guile reign beyond all measure in all their words and deeds.

There is another measure of the effect of this corruption. For the faith of Christ hath been revealed to the world, and certified already by saints without number. . . . And we have our Lord Jesus Christ in the sacrament of the altar; everywhere and daily we make it at our will, in accordance with that His precept, "Do this in remembrance of Me"; we eat and drink Him, and are turned into Him, to become Gods and Christs. . . . Certainly if men had faith, reverence, and devotion to this sacrament as they are in duty bound, then they would not corrupt themselves with so many errors and sins and wickednesses, but would know all wisdom and wholesome truth in this life: wherefore, seeing that they here play the ass [*hic asininant*], and many are infirm and weak and sleep (to use the Apostle's words) therefore they must needs become infirm and weak in all that region of wisdom, and sleep the sleep of death, and play the ass beyond common estimation; for this [sacrament] is at the end of the glory and goodness and comeliness of wisdom, and hath more certain proofs than any other kind. . . . Since therefore we know but little in so noble and so plain a matter, therefore all other profitable wisdom must needs be put farther away from us than tongue may tell.

The third consideration from effects is taken by comparing our state with that of the ancient Philosophers; who, though they were without that quickening grace which maketh man worthy of eternal life, and whereinto we enter at baptism, yet

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lived beyond all comparison better than we, both in all decency and in contempt of the world, with all its delights and riches and honours; as all men may read in the works of Aristotle, Seneca, Tully, Avicenna, Alfarabius, Plato, Socrates, and others; and so it was that they attained to the secrets of wisdom and found out all knowledge. But we Christians have discovered nothing worthy of those philosophers, nor can we even understand their wisdom; which ignorance of ours springs from this cause, that our morals are worse than theirs. For it is impossible that wisdom should coexist with sin, but she requireth perfect virtue, as I will show later on. But certain it is that, if there were so much wisdom in the world as men think, these evils would not be committed...and therefore, when we see everywhere (and especially among the clergy) such corruption of life, then their studies must needs be corrupt. Many wise men—considering this, and pondering on God's wisdom and the learning of the saints and the truth of histories, and not only the prophecies of Holy Scripture but also such salutary predictions as those of the Sibyls and Merlin and Aquila and Festo and many other wise men—have reckoned that the times of Antichrist are at hand in these days of ours.¹ Wherefore wickedness must needs be uprooted, and the Elect of God must appear; or else one most blessed Pope will first come, who shall remove all corruptions from University and Church and elsewhere, that the world may be renewed, and the fulness of the Gentiles may enter in, and the remnants of Israel be converted to the faith...God indeed, in His infinite goodness and long-suffering of wisdom, doth not at once punish mankind, but delayeth His vengeance until the iniquity be fulfilled, so that it may not and should not be longer endured...But now, seeing that the measure of man's wickedness is full, it must needs be that some most virtuous Pope and most virtuous Emperor shall arise to purge the Church with the double sword of the spirit and the flesh; or else that such purgation shall take place through Antichrist; or, thirdly, through some other tribulation, as the discord of Christian princes, or the

¹ The next greatest English friar of this age, Adam de Marisco, is even more emphatic on this subject, and more pessimistic generally, than Bacon.

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Tartars and Saracens and other kings of the East, as divers scriptures and manifold prophecies tell us. For there is no doubt whatever among wise men, but that the Church *must* be purged: yet whether in the first fashion, or the second, or the third, they are not agreed, nor is there any certain definition on this head.

(P. 425.) The second principal cause of error in the present pursuit of wisdom is this: that for forty years past certain men have arisen in the universities who have created themselves masters and doctors in theology and philosophy, though they themselves have never learned anything of any account; nor will they or can they learn by reason of their position, as I will take care to show by argument, in all its length and breadth, within the compass of the following pages. And, albeit I grieve and pity these as much as I can, yet truth prevaleth over all, and therefore I will here expound at least some of those things which are done publicly and are known to all men, though few turn their hearts to regard either this or other profitable considerations, by reason of those causes of error which I here set forth, and whereby almost all men are basely blinded. These are boys who are inexperienced in the knowledge of themselves and of the world and of the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew, which (as I will prove later on) are necessary to study; they are ignorant also of all parts and sciences of the world's philosophy and of wisdom, when they so presumptuously enter upon the study of theology, which requireth all human wisdom, as the saints teach and as all wise men know. For, if truth be anywhere, here is she found: here, if anywhere, is falsehood condemned, as Augustine saith in his book *Of Christian Doctrine*. These are boys of the two Student-Orders, as Albert and Thomas¹ and others, who in many cases enter those Orders at or below the age of twenty years. This is the common course, from the English sea to the furthest confines of Christendom, and more

¹ *I.e.* Albertus afterwards called Magnus, and St Thomas Aquinas. Bacon (though no doubt he goes too far here in his disparagement) anticipates the main lines of modern criticism on scholastic philosophy—that it neglected almost altogether those physical and mathematical sciences on which all true philosophy must be based, and that even its principal sources—the Bible and Aristotle—were studied only in faulty translations, and often fatally misunderstood.

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especially beyond the realm of France; so that in Aquitaine, Provence, Spain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, and everywhere, boys are promiscuously received into the Orders from their tenth to their twentieth year; boys too young to be able to know anything worth knowing, even though they were not already possessed with the aforesaid causes of human error; wherefore, at their entrance into the Orders, they know nought that profiteth to theology. Many thousands become friars who cannot read their Psalter or their Donat;¹ yet, immediately after their admission, they are set to study theology. Wherefore they must of necessity fail to reap any great profit, especially seeing that they have not taken lessons from others in philosophy since their entrance; and, most of all, because they have presumed in those Orders to enquire into philosophy by themselves and without teachers, so that they are become Masters in Theology and in Philosophy before being disciples. Wherefore infinite error reigneth among them, although for certain reasons this is not apparent, by the Devil's instigation and by God's permission. One cause of this appearance is that the Orders have the outward show of great holiness; wherefore it is probable to the world that men in so holy a state would not presume on such things as they could not perform. Yet we see that all states are corrupted in this age, as I have discoursed in detail above. . . .

Bacon then goes on to set forth, under a series of numbered heads, the almost universal ignorance of Greek and Hebrew among Western philosophers and theologians, the small quantity and detestable quality of the accredited translations of Aristotle, and the consequent rottenness of contemporary science at its very foundation.

Wherefore all who know anything at all neglect the false translation of Aristotle, and seek such remedy as they may. This is a truth which men lost in learning will not consider; but they seek consolation for their ignorance like brute beasts. If I had power over the books of Aristotle [as at present translated], I would burn them all; for to study therein is but lost time, and a source of error and a multiplication of ignorance beyond all human power to describe. And, seeing that the labours of Aristotle are the foundation

¹ Latin Grammar; Donatus was the favourite grammarian of the Middle Ages.

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of all wisdom, therefore no man may tell how much the Latins waste now because they have accepted evil translations of the Philosopher: wherefore there is no full remedy anywhere. Whosoever will glory in Aristotle's science, he must needs learn it in its own native tongue, since false translations are everywhere, in theology as well as in philosophy. For all the translators [of the Bible] before St Jerome erred cruelly, as he himself saith over and over again. . . . We have few profitable books of philosophy in Latin, for Aristotle wrote a hundred volumes, as we read in his life, whereof we possess only three of any importance: his Logic, his Natural History, and his Metaphysics. . . . But the vulgar herd of students, with their leaders, have nothing to rouse them to any worthy effort: wherefore they feebly dote over these false translations, losing everywhere their time, their labour, and their money. For outward appearance alone possesseth them; nor care they what they know, but only what they may seem to know in the eyes of the senseless multitude.

So likewise numberless matters of God's wisdom are still wanting. For many books of Holy Writ are not translated; both two books of the Maccabees which I know to exist in the Greek, and many other books of many prophets, which are cited in the Books of Kings and Chronicles. Moreover, Josephus in his *Antiquities* is utterly false as to the course of time, without which nothing can be known of the history of the Sacred Text; wherefore he is worthless until he be reformed by a new translation, and sacred history perisheth. Moreover, the Latins lack innumerable books of the Hebrew and Greek expositors, as Origen, Basil, Gregory Nazianzene, Damascenus, Dionysius, Chrysostom, and other most noble doctors, in Hebrew as well as in Greek. Therefore the Church slumbereth; for in this matter she doeth naught, nor hath done for these seventy years past, except that the lord Robert [Grosseteste] of holy memory, Bishop of Lincoln, translated into Latin from the books of St Dionysius, and Damascenus, and a few other consecrated teachers. We must marvel at the negligence of the Church; for there hath been no supreme Pontiff since the days of Pope Damasus [A.D. 384], nor any inferior pontiff who hath been solicitous for the profit of the

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Church through translations, save only the above-mentioned glorious Bishop.

The thirteenth cause why Latin students need the knowledge of languages is the corruption which besetteth our studies through the ignorance of learned languages in these days. This cause is complementary of the Latins' error and ignorance. For such books of divine and human wisdom as have been well translated and truly expounded, are now become utterly faulty by reason of the disuse of the aforesaid learned languages in Latin countries. For thus, by the examples already cited, we may set forth clearly enough by way of compendious introduction, and see in general terms, how the Bible hath been corrupted. But he who would go into details would not find a single sentence wherein there is no falsehood, or at least no great uncertainty, on account of the disagreement of correctors: and this doubt falleth upon every wise man, even as we name that "fear" which falleth even upon a constant man. Yet there is falsehood wellnigh everywhere, even though doubts be interspersed. And would not these false or dubious passages be cleared away, to the quantity of half the Bible, if we introduced some certain method of proof, as the reasonable manner of correction demandeth? Wherefore all theologians nowadays, whether reading or preaching, use false texts, and cannot profit, and can consequently neither understand nor teach anything of any account.¹

¹ In these last two sentences I have ventured on two emendations which seem required by the sense; viz. *nonne* for *non* and *proficere* for *proferre*. Bacon's complaint of the corruption of the medieval Vulgate text, exaggerated as it may seem, is borne out by proved facts. The late Sub-librarian of the Vatican, Father Denifle, wrote an article on this subject, in which he said: "It offers a melancholy spectacle, which would be still more darkened by a comparison of other manuscripts of the 13th century. . . . Roger Bacon was indeed right when he exclaimed with regard to the accredited Paris text, (which followed Correctorium E, and therefore contained the interpolations and belonged to the same family of MSS. as that above quoted), 'The text is for the most part horribly corrupt in the Vulgate, that is the Parisian, Exemplar.'" *Archiv f. Litt. und Kirchengeschichte* u.s.w., Band iv, S. 567.

A LESSON IN ANATOMY

Berthold von Regensburg, or of Ratisbon, was born about 1220 of a well-to-do citizen family. He joined the Franciscans while still a youth, and became the favourite pupil of David of Augsburg, whose writings were often attributed in the Middle Ages to St Bonaventura. He was already famous as a preacher in 1250; until his death in 1272 he tramped from village to village, like a Whitefield or a Wesley, through Bavaria, Rhineland, Switzerland, Swabia, Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia, Thuringia and Franconia. His fame spread all over Europe; he is enthusiastically extolled in the chronicles of Salimbene and the xxiv Generals; and Roger Bacon, speaking of contemporary preaching in words which do not err on the side of compliment, expressly excepts Berthold as one who "alone maketh more excellent profit in preaching than almost all the other Friars of either Order" (*Opp. Inedd.* R.S. p. 310). A thick volume of Berthold's sermons, translated into modern German, is in its third edition as a book of living theology (Regensburg, Manz, 1873). The text here used is that of Franz Pfeiffer (2 vols. Vienna, 1862). The abrupt changes from *thou* to *ye* are in the original.

26. A LESSON IN ANATOMY

(Band 1, S. 431.)

IN old days women were exceeding temperate, eating and drinking but little, yet now is gluttony become an ingrained custom with them. By the time the goodman hath drunk away his sword, the goodwife hath drunk away her ring and the veil from her head; and both have lost their honour for their gluttony's sake, and ruined soul and body, and health, and hope of long life.—“How, Brother Berthold, I had ever thought that, the better a man ate and drank, the stronger and stouter he would be, and live the longer for it.”—That is false, and I will tell thee why. The stomach is in thy body; right in the midst of the body lieth a man's stomach, that receiveth first of all whatsoever thou eatest or drinkest; and this same stomach is shaped even like a cauldron on the fire, wherein we boil our food. Ye see well how, if the cauldron on the fire be filled too full, then must one of two evil things come to pass: either the cauldron will boil over and the food remain uncooked, or the food must burn in the cauldron, and so again stay uncooked; but if a man fill the cauldron in all temperance, then the food may be well sodden and find room to simmer quietly through and through.... Now see and

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

mark this, all and several. Even so is it with a man's stomach, that standeth in the midst of the body like a cauldron, and the liver lieth hard by the stomach like a fire, for the liver hath by nature the greatest heat of the whole body, and bringeth heat to the stomach wherewith all is seethed that a man may eat and drink. . . . If the stomach be too full, however hot the liver be, yet must the food stay uncooked; and if it boil over, then the superfluity rises either to the head, that a man's ears are dulled and he becomes deaf; or to the face, that his eyes grow weak or blind—heavy eyes, glassy eyes, or gravel-blind. . . . And mark me this one thing! rich folk's children grow far more seldom to old age, or even to manhood, than poor folk's children; that cometh from the over-feeding that men practise on rich folk's children, for none can ever fill them so full that another will believe it is enough. That ariseth from the tenderness wherewith they are cherished, and also for that there is ever enough and to spare in the house. So the child's sister makes him a pap and coaxes it into him; now mark! his little cauldron, his little belly, is soon filled, and the pap begins to bubble out again, but she coaxes it in and in. Then cometh his aunt and doth likewise. Then cometh his nurse and crieth: "Alas! my child hath eaten nought this livelong day!" and she will straightway coax the pap in again as before, for all that the child may cry and toss his little limbs. Thus do all vie one with another in feeding rich men's children, so that few indeed grow to a good old age.

THE PROUD PROFESSOR

Thomas Cantimpratanus (of Chantimpré in Brabant) was the son of a noble who had fought under our Richard I in the Holy Land. A hermit near Antioch, to whom the father had confessed his sins, warned him that some of them would keep him long in purgatory unless he bred up one of his sons to the priesthood. The child Thomas was therefore sent to school at Liège, where (as he tells us in no. 69 in vol. 1) he spent eleven years. At the age of fifteen he was much impressed by Jacques de Vitry's preaching. In early manhood he became a Canon Regular at Chantimpré, but passed over to the stricter Dominicans about 1231. He became a very distinguished preacher, a suffragan bishop, and a fairly voluminous writer. By far the most valuable of his works is the *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, a treatise on virtues and vices by analogy with the life of the bee, illustrated by personal and historical anecdotes. This was written somewhere about 1260; my extract is from the Douai edition of 1597.

27. THE PROUD PROFESSOR

(Lib. II, c. 48, p. 361.)

MASTER SIMON DE TOURNAI was Master of Theology at Paris, and excelled all others in his time; yet, contrary to the decorum of such an office, he was beyond measure incontinent and proud. Having a greater audience than all other Masters in that city, while he was publicly determining in the schools a question concerning the humility of the most lofty Christian doctrine, then at length, at the very end, he was given over to a reprobate mind and burst forth into execrable blasphemies against Christ, saying: "There are three who have ensnared the world with their sects and dogmas: to wit, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. Moses first infatuated the Jewish people; then Jesus Christ the Christians, called after His own name; thirdly, Mahomet the heathen folk." Then his eyes turned forthwith in his head, and his human voice changed into a bellow; and, falling straightway upon the ground in an epilepsy, he received on the third day the full punishment of that sickness. Wherefore the Almighty smote him with an incurable wound, depriving him of all his learning even to the first rudiments of letters; and the plague fell even more grievously upon his soul, for he remained as it were dumb until his dying day, and was compared unto the beasts that perish.

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Don Ramon Muntaner (1265-1330?) was, like Joinville and Villehardouin, a soldier by profession and an author only in his old age: his chronicle, like theirs, gains by this combination. It is the best of Spanish medieval histories, and will bear comparison with those of any other nation. The author is best introduced by his own Prologue. The extracts are from the edition published by the Litterarischer Verein of Stuttgart.

28. AN AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

IN the name of our Lord and true God Jesus Christ, and of His blessed Mother our Lady St Mary, and of all His blessed saints, both now and ever. Amen!

It behoveth every man to praise and thank God and His blessed Mother for the grace and mercy which have been vouchsafed to him; which blessings a man should not conceal but rather publish abroad, that every man may take thereby a good example, striving to do and speak well. For this is sure and certain truth, that whosoever doeth and speaketh and thinketh good, to him shall God give good for his reward; but to him that doeth evil, evil, unless it be that he amend his ways. Wherefore let every man strive, so far as in him lieth, to turn evil into good; for nothing can remain hidden from God. It is a good word that men commonly use in Sicily, when one man liveth at variance with another: "nay, let him go, and trust that God knoweth thine own way." Wherefore let every man strive to live in the faith that God seeth him; for to God all things are open. Even so, among other men in this world, must I also, Ramon Muntaner, born at Perelada and free of the liberties of Valencia, give manifold thanks to our Lord and true God and His blessed Mother, the holy Virgin Mary, and to all the Court Celestial, for the grace and mercy which they have vouchsafed to me, and for my rescue from many dangers wherein I have fallen; as for the two-and-thirty battles wherein I have fought by sea and land; in which wars I have oftentimes fallen into captivity and torment, and suffered many persecutions both in my prosperity and in mine adversity, as ye may presently hear among the deeds that were done in my time. I would indeed gladly forbear from the task of this story; yet it is my bounden duty to tell it, and for this cause more especially, that all men may

AN AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

learn how we had no help in so great danger but through the succour and grace of God and His blessed Mother, the holy Virgin Mary. Know therefore that, when I went forth from my home at Perelada, I was not yet eleven years old;¹ and when I began by God's gracious help to write this book I stood in my sixtieth year; which book I began on the fifteenth day of May in the year of the glorious birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand three hundred and twenty five.

Chaps. 124-6. In the year 1283 Pope Martin IV proclaimed a crusade against Peter of Aragon, who had thwarted his policy in Sicily and that of his protégé Charles of Anjou. Philip the Bold of France caught at this excuse to wage a holy war in Spain; he and his crusaders came and besieged Muntaner's native town, but were beaten in several sorties.

29. THE SIEGE OF PERELADA

THERE was a lady at Perelada whom I knew and saw: men called her Marcadera for that she sold merchandise [*mercaderia*]; she was a very doughty woman, stout and big of bones. One day while the French host lay encamped before Perelada, she went forth to fetch herbs from the garden without the walls: she put on a man's quilted doublet and armed herself with sword and shield and lance, and thus went forth into her garden. And as she stooped in the garden she heard a sound of bells, whereupon she marvelled and left to pick her colewort, and went to see what this might be: when lo! in the way betwixt her garden and her neighbour's, she saw a French knight fully harnessed on his horse, that was all hung with little bells at his breastband; he rode hither and thither to find issue from that path. When she was aware of him, she strode forward a step and dealt him so shrewd a thrust with her lance through the cuisses that she drove through thigh and saddle, and even wounded the horse also. When the beast felt the hurt, he reared and kicked again, and would surely have thrown his rider but that he was bound with a chain to the saddle. What more shall I say? She drew her sword and ran round by a little gate and smote the beast

¹ He was probably sent out, according to the usual medieval custom, as page in some knight's house.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

so sore on the head that he staggered. What more? She seized the rein and cried to the Knight, "Yield thee, or thou art a dead man!" and he, that thought himself but dead, cast away his sword and yielded himself prisoner. She therefore took up the sword, drew the lance from his side, and led him to Perelada. The King and the Infante made merry over this story, and would oftentimes bid the lady tell them how she had taken him. In brief, the Knight and his armour were hers; he ransomed himself for two hundred gold pieces, which fell to her share. Thereby may ye know God's anger against the French.

[Meanwhile the King of Aragon thought the town strong enough to be left to the protection of a moderate garrison, assisted by 1000 Almugavars, or mercenary foot-soldiers.]

What think ye then? The King had with him some five thousand Almugavars, whereof he bade one thousand tarry behind at Perelada. These men, therefore, were sore grieved to be thus left, and they were cut to the heart to consider how they must now lose that spoil which the rest should win in skirmishes against the French; wherefore they purposed to get themselves some other satisfaction: hear ye therefore the iniquity which they devised in their hearts! About midnight, when the King and Infante were gone forth from Perelada, and already perchance at Vilabertran or Figueres, they went and set fire to a full hundred places of the town, and cried: "Forth, forth!" What more? When the good folk heard this tumult from their beds, and saw the whole town in flames, then each hastened to save his son or daughter, and the men thought only of their wives and children; and the Almugavars for their part set their minds to steal and pillage. In brief, the whole city was in flames, so that within a little while there stood not ten houses whole, save for the stone walls: the which was a sore pity, for Perelada was an exceeding ancient city, wherein no Saracens had been since the days of Charles the Great and Roland.... While, therefore, this fire raged throughout the town, all the folk hastened forth even to the last man, save only a lady whose name was Dofia Palonavera, and who went to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, in whom she had great trust, saying that she would die there.

THE SIEGE OF PERELADA

And therein she did well, seeing that it was all from love of the Virgin Mary.

So that night the King of France and his host were aware of this mighty fire; whereat they were amazed and sat harnessed, the whole night through, upon their horses. When the day dawned, and they saw the whole town burning, then they knew that it was altogether deserted; wherefore they entered in and did all that in them lay to quench the flames; for the good men were sorry that so fair and noble a city should burn to the ground; yet were they not all of one mind; for, even as the good extinguished the fire, so the evil fed the flames. Then they entered into the church and found that pious lady with the statue of the holy Virgin in her arms: then came the accursed Picards, who were the evillest folk of the host, and forthwith they hewed the good woman in pieces before the altar, and then they bound their beasts to the altars and wrought much outrage, whereof they had their full reward from God, as ye shall hereafter hear.

When therefore the King and the Infante and their host heard how miserably this town was destroyed, they were cut to the heart; yet nought could be done as matters then stood. Wherefore all Kings of Aragon, whosoever they be, are much bounden to show kindness to this little town of Perelada in general, and especially to all citizens thereof; for the Lord of Perelada, as ye may well think, lost in the king's service all that he had. Moreover I and other men, who then lost well-nigh all our worldly goods, have never seen our houses again; but have gone about the whole world, and sought our sustenance with the sweat of our brow, and suffered many perils; whereof the greater part are now dead in the wars of the King of Aragon.

30. A BRIEF ROMANCE

(Chap. 263, A.D. 1314.)

WHEN the son of the Count of Aria had married, he took possession of the barony of Matagrifo; and, if any lord ever showed himself a man of worth, this was he; for he was very

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wise and doughty in all things; and his wife bare him a daughter named the lady Isabel. Soon after her birth he died, to the sore distress of all his barons and vassals in Morea. (Now this count of Aria was of the lineage of Tous, which is the most ancient and most honoured house in all Provence, and near akin to the house of Anjou.) When therefore the lady of Aria had lost her husband, she was in sore distress and would take no other spouse; and when her sister the princess [of Morea] died, she herself desired the Principality; yet they who had it in possession gave her but a short answer. Hearing then that the Infante Don Fernando, son to the King of Majorca, was in Sicily, and that he had neither wife nor land, she thought no man in the world fitter for her daughter than he, because such a man would make good all his rights to the Principality, whether by favour or by force. Wherefore she sent ambassadors to the King of Sicily and the Infante Don Fernando; and at last they were accorded that the lady and her daughter should come to Messina, and then, if the damsel were such as they said, the marriage would please them for their part. So the lady came to Messina with her daughter, and ten dames and ten damsels, and twenty knights and twenty sons of knights, and other company to boot; and their hosts did them much honour. So when the King was come to Messina, and the Infante had seen the damsel, then he would not have changed her against another, even though a man had given him the whole world to boot; nay, he had so great pleasure in the sight of her that the day seemed a year to him until the whole matter was assured; and he declared outright to the lord King that he would have this damsel to be his wife, and none other that lived in the world. And it was no marvel that he loved her so hotly: for this was the fairest creature of fourteen years that ever man might see, the whitest and the rosiest and the best; and the wisest, for the years that she had, of any damsel that ever was in the world. What shall I say more? The lady of Matagrifo invested her daughter, both in her own lifetime and after her death, with all the barony of Matagrifo and all the right which she had to the Principality, to have and to hold at her own will, without further limitation whatsoever. So when this was done, and

A BRIEF ROMANCE

the spousal deeds were drawn, then by God's grace, with great feast and solemnity made by the King and Queen, and all the barons of Sicily and Catalonia, and Aragonese and Latin knights, and all other folk of Messina, the lord Infante took this lady Isabel to wife; and the Archbishop of Messina sang the mass, and the feast endured for fifteen days, so that all men marvelled at the joy and gladness that were there. And when the feast was past, the lord Infante led her with him to Catania, with her mother and all the company that had come with her; and he gave her Catalan dames and damsels, wives and daughters of knights. And when they were at Catania, the lord Infante gave great gifts to all her meinie; and thus they dwelt some four months at Catania. And then the lady mother-in-law of the lord Infante turned again to Morea with her following, glad and jocund of heart—glad also and jocund of heart was the lord Infante, who stayed with my lady Infanta.

And it pleased God that she became big with child, whereof was great rejoicing when it was noised abroad. When therefore the lady was thus with child, the lord Infante made ready to go with five hundred men-at-arms and a great multitude of footmen to Morea. While he thus made ready, I had news thereof at Gerba; then must I needs go with him whithersoever it might please him to go; the whole world should not have kept me back. Wherefore I sent word to the King, praying that it might please him to send me to Sicily. The King was pleased to grant his assent; so I took a galley and a smaller boat and came with the elders of that island to Sicily, leaving the castle and island of Gerba under good watch and ward. The first land which I touched in Sicily was at Catania, where I found the Infante safe and joyful, and his lady great with child (for eight days afterwards she bore a fair son, whereof they made great rejoicing). When therefore I had come down from my galley, I brought to land two bales of Tripoli carpets, and many other Moorish rarities and other jewels; all of which I bade my servants spread out before the lady Infanta and her lord, and offered them as gifts, whereof the lord Infante was much pleased. Then I departed thence and went to Messina; for the lord Infante said that he would

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come thither within a fortnight and speak at length with me. Yet before I had been a fortnight there, it was reported that the lady Infanta had brought forth a son, who was born on the first Saturday in April of this year 1315. God grant to every man such joy as I then felt! Ask me not whether the lord Infante was glad, with all that dwelt at Catania! more than eight days they feasted there; and the boy was baptized in the Cathedral of the blessed lady Saint Agatha, and they gave him the name of Jacme. If ever a child was born of good grace, it was this boy Don Jacme. What more shall I say? When the child was baptized, and his mother out of danger, the lord Infante came to Messina, where I proffered myself to him, both body and goods, to follow him whithersoever he would. He gave me hearty thanks, and said: "Go hence to the lord King, whom ye shall find at Plasa, and render into his hands the castle and the islands of Gerba and Querquens; then return to us, and I will teach you what ye shall do." Then I departed from him; and in the meantime word came that he must ride in all haste to Catania, for his lady was sick of fever and anguish of her reins. So he rode and came that night to Catania; and the lady was better for sight of him; yet she had already made her testament before the sickness came sorer upon her, and then she confirmed it; in which testament she had left to her son Don Jacme the barony of Matagrifo and her claim to the Principality: and in case of his death all should fall to her husband Don Fernando. In truth it was already two months since her mother was dead of mortal sickness at Matagrifo; but she knew nought thereof, nor would the lord Infante that any man should tell her aught while she was with child, or when she was brought to bed, or before she should have been churched. And, though the Infante was ready for his voyage, yet he hoped not to set out until the Infanta should be delivered and churched; then should she come to ship with him, for all were ready to set sail. In brief, the Infanta, by God's will, passed from this life two and thirty days after the birth of her child; and she breathed her last in the arms of her lord. If ever man saw grief, it was in this Infante Don Fernando and the whole city. With great solemnity (as for one who was purified and confessed and aneiled and anointed),

A BRIEF ROMANCE

she was laid in a fair monument hard by the body of the blessed virgin my lady Saint Agatha, in her blessed church at Catania.

The next few chapters describe how Ramon was chosen to escort the little motherless Jacme to his grandmother, the Queen of Majorca: how he safely avoided all the enemies that lay in wait for them, and brought the child safe to Catalonia.

The following inquests are chosen as typical cases from the few surviving Oxford Coroners' Rolls which are printed on pp. 150 ff. of Prof. J. E. T. Rogers' *Oxford City Documents*. Of the twenty-nine inquests there recorded, thirteen disclose murders committed by students. This is partly attributable to the fact that the student, being a cleric, could not be hanged for his first murder. Robert of Bridlington, one of the heroes of no. (iv) here below, was apparently not even expelled from Oxford, but perished in a later affray between Town and Gown.

31. OXFORD MANNERS

(i) 1297.

IT befel on the Monday next following the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 25th year of King Edward, that John Metescharp of Oxford died in the house of Ralph the surgeon in the parish of St Aldate's, and that same day he was viewed by John de Oseney coroner to the Lord King; and he had a wound in his left side from a certain small arrow of the breadth of half an inch, and the depth of five inches; and that same day an inquest was held before the aforesaid coroner by the oath of Thomas de Morton, Thomas le Parmenter, John de Stamford, Richard de Bampton, Thomas de Lewes, Geoffrey le Smith and Thomas le Turner, jurymen of the parish of St Aldate; Nicholas de Lincoln, Nicholas de Weston, Richard Sutton, John de Themele, William King and John le Furnur, jurymen of the parish of St Ebbe; Adam de Tilhurst, William de Godstow, Richard de Eynsham, Alexander de Bloxham, Robert de Quenynton and Robert de Fulbroke, jurymen of the parish of St Peter in the Bailey; Thomas de Weston, Thomas de Boleworth, Walter de Eynsham and Gilbert de Cowley, jurymen of the parish of St Martin; and all the aforesaid jurymen say on their oath

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that on the Saturday, on the feast of the Purification of the aforesaid year, a certain Michael, manciple to the clerks who dwell in Bull Hall in the parish of St Aldate, and a certain clerk named John de Skurf and one Madoc, a clerk of Wales, went through the streets with swords and bows and arrows shortly before the hour of curfew and assaulted all who passed by, wherefore the hue and cry was raised, and the aforesaid John Metescharp with others hearing the hue came forth from their houses to keep the Lord King's peace; and, when the aforesaid John came into the street, forthwith the aforesaid Michael shot him and inflicted the aforesaid wound, whence he died; but he had all his church rights;¹ and immediately after the aforesaid deed the said Michael and all the rest fled, so that they could not be attached; nor could anything of their chattels be found.

(ii) 1301.

It befel on Thursday, the morrow of St Nicholas' Day in the thirtieth year of King Edward, that John de Neushom, clerk and schoolmaster, was found dead by Cherwell bank hard by Petty-pont. Isabella his wife found him dead and raised the hue and cry: and he was seen that same day by John de Oseney, Coroner, and he had no wound nor any apparent hurt; whereof an inquest was held that same day, by the oath of John Pylle, William le Shoesmith, Henry le Slater, John le Cooper, John le Miller, Thomas le Taylor and Adam de Tew, jurymen of the parish of St Peter's in the east; and Ralph Baker, John le Lecche, Nicholas de Hanred, Henry le Cobbler, William de Clobber and Henry le Tailor, jurymen of the parish of St John; William de Milton, Thomas Bygod, Roger le Fletcher, Andrew de Cowley, and John de Cokesgrave, jurymen of the parish of St Mary the Virgin; Philip le Glover, Robert de Ocle, John le Smith and Ralph de Chilton, jurymen of the parish of All Saints. And all the aforesaid jurymen say upon their oath that, on the Monday late past, the said John de Neushom went after dinner to seek rods for the chastisement of the boys whom he taught, and

¹ *I.e.* absolution and extreme unction. The "clerks" were, of course, university students.

OXFORD MANNERS

climbed upon a certain willow to cut such rods, hard by the mill-pond called *Temple Mill*, where by misadventure he fell into the water and was drowned. And the aforesaid jurymen say upon their oath that no man is guilty of his death. The pledges of the said wife who found him, that she would be etc.,¹ are John de Faringdon and Adam de Tew.

(iii) 1306.

It befel upon the Sunday next after the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, in the 34th year of King Edward, that Gilbert de Foxlee, clerk, died at his lodging in the parish of St Peter in the East about the hour of noon, and on the Monday following he was viewed by Thomas Lisewys, Coroner of the Lord King for the City of Oxford; and he had a wound in his left leg, hard by the knee, of the breadth of four inches all around, and of the depth of an inch and a half. Whereof an inquest was held before the said Coroner by the oath of [etc., etc.]. . . . And [the jury] say on their oath that, on Thursday the Eve of St John last past, the tailors of Oxford and other townsfolk with them held a wake in their shops the whole night through, singing and making their solace with citherns, fiddles, and divers other instruments, as the use and custom is to do there and elsewhere on account of the solemnity of that Feast. And after midnight, finding that no man was wandering there in the streets, they went forth from their shops, and others with them, and held their dances² in the High Street in face of the Cloth Hall; and, as they thus played, there came the aforesaid Gilbert de Foxlee, with a certain naked and drawn sword in his hand, and began forthwith to contend with them, purposing by all means to break up that dance: but certain of them who were of his acquaintance, seeing this, came to him and would have led him away, and besought him to harm no man; yet for all that the aforesaid Gilbert would not promise, but forthwith broke away from

¹ *I.e.* that she would attend again if required for further inquiries or formalities: cf. Gross's *Select Coroners' Rolls*, p. 94 (Eynsham).

² Cf. Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*:

In twenty manners he could skip and dance,
(After the school of Oxenfordē though,)
And with his leggēs casten to and fro.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

them and came back and assaulted one William de Claydon, whose hand he would have cut off with his sword as he went round in the dance, unless he had drawn suddenly back; whereupon Henry de Beaumont, Cruisor, fell upon Gilbert, together with Thomas de Bloxham, William de Leye servant to John de Leye, and the aforesaid William de Claydon; and the aforesaid Henry wounded him with a sword in the right arm, and the aforesaid Thomas with a misericorde¹ in the back, and the aforesaid William upon the head, so that he fell. Then William de Leye, with a certain axe called spar-axe, struck him forthwith upon the left leg and inflicted the aforesaid wound whereof he died on the Sunday aforesaid: yet he lived eight weeks and two days and a half, and had all his church rights.

(iv) 1314.

It befel, etc. . . . and [the Jury] say upon their oath that, on the Saturday aforesaid, after the hour of noon, the Northern clerks on the one part, and the Southern and Western clerks on the other, came to St John's Street and Grope Lane with swords, bucklers, bows, arrows and other arms, and there they fought together; and in that conflict Robert de Bridlington, Adam de Alderbeck, Richard de Louthby and Richard de Holwell stood together in a certain Soler² in Gutter Hall, situate in St John's Street, shooting down through a window into Grope Lane: and there the said Robert de Bridlington, with a small arrow, smote the aforesaid Henry of Holy Isle and wounded him hard by the throat, on the left side in front; and the wound was of the breadth of one inch, and in depth even unto the heart; and thus he slew him. Moreover the aforesaid jury say that [the others above-named] incited the said Robert to shoot the same Henry dead, and to slay him, and they were consenting unto his death. . . . And in the same conflict John de Benton came with a falchion into Grope Lane and gave David de Kirkby a blow on the back of the head, six inches in length and in depth even unto the brain. At which same time came William de la Hyde and

¹ Dagger.

² *Solar*, or *soller*: a private room, generally in an upper storey.

OXFORD MANNERS

smote the aforesaid David with a sword across his right knee and leg: and at the same time came William de Astley and smote the said David under the left arm with a misericorde, and thus they slew him. Moreover, concerning the goods of the aforesaid evildoers, or those who have received them, the jury say that they know nothing.

Side by side with the coroner's view of these wounds it may be interesting to read the doctor's. The following extracts are from the recipes collected by Prof. Henslow (*Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century*, Chapman and Hall, 1899).

32. THE PERFECT LEECH

(p. 25. *Title in Latin.*) *Here we treat of wounds, if thou wilt know whether the wounded man may recover or no.*

TAKE pimperhole [salad burnet] and stampe hit and tempere hit with water and gif hym to drinke, and zif hit go out at ye wonde he schal live.

Another:

Zif hym to drynke letuse with water and zyf he spewe he schal be dyd.

Another:

Zif hym to drynke cristal [ice], and if he spewe hit he schal be dyde.

Another:

Zyf hym to drynke mensore¹ with ale and zef he holde hit tille that other day that same tyme he schal leve. . . .

For rankelyng of a wonde—take rede nettel and salt and stamp to-gedir, and drynke the Jus fastyng.

Another:

Good tret [ointment?] y-provyd wel, helyng everich wonde; (and if thou wilt prove it, take a cock and smite him in the brain and hold thee from [him] till he be almost dead, and then carve of this trete and lay it to his head and soon after he shall stand up and crow loudly; hit befallit so other-whyle; but how-so hit be, this he shall have;) take a good

¹ Prof. Henslow cannot identify this word.

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handful of verveyne and another of pimperhole and another of bitayne [betony?] and grind them well together in a mortar, and seethe them well in a gallon of white wine till the half-deal be sodden away; then wring through a cloth and cast away the herbs and do the liquor into a pot for to seethe, and cast thereto a pound of resin or of clean coperose [copperas]; lue [dilute?] it a little of the small liquor cast thereto and do it boil together, then take 4 lb. of virgin wax and resolve it in a woman's milk that beareth a knave child¹ and do thereto afterward an oz. of mastic and an oz. of frankincense, and let them boil well together till it be well y-mellyd;² and then do it off the fire and in the doing a down look thou have y-broke half a pound of tormentille well y-powdered all ready, and cast therein, and stir all-a-way without boiling till it be cold and then take up that floateth above and smere thine hand with oil or with fresh butter and bear it again to the fire as thou wilt bear wax, till it be well y-mellid, and do therewith as thou wilt.

The *Limburg Chronicle*, which contains more details about costume and popular songs than any other of the Middle Ages, was written by Tilman von Wolfhagen, a married clerk and notary, settled at Limburg on the Lahn (see Frontispiece). From the year 1347 onwards, as he tells us, he himself remembers the events he chronicles. The record ends with the year 1398, and Tilman died in 1402. He was no historian; but his lively interest in the small events within his purview lends to his chronicle a very special value. The edition here used is that of A. Wyss in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Deutsche Chroniken*, tom. 1.

33. A SMALL-BEER CHRONICLE

MOREOVER at this time (A.D. 1336) the town and folk of Limburg stood in very great honour and prosperity in population and in wealth; for all the lanes and corners were full of folk and goods; and, when they took the field, the citizens were counted at more than two thousand folk well armed with breastplates and harness and all appurtenances; and those who took God's Body at Easter were counted more than eight

¹ This same ingredient occurs again on p. 51, for wounds in the head.
² Mixed.

A SMALL-BEER CHRONICLE

thousand folk.¹ Now thou must know that when so many folk are under government of one authority, whether of church or of state, he must needs have good sense and honesty, as Aristotle saith in the first book of his *Politics*: *Habentes rationem et intellectum utentes, naturaliter aliorum domini fiunt et rectores*; which is being interpreted, "Whoso seeketh honesty, and practise it who can, To bear the rule o'er other folk he is the proper man." Moreover the foundation of our good lord St George in that city stood then in great honour



LIMBURG FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

From a view by Merian, about 1650.

and glory, so that it had a clear income of settled rents and moneys of no less than one hundred and twenty florins: and the foundation aforesaid was also governed by canons who were all men of this country and knights' sons.

In the year that men counted 1342, on St Boniface's day, well nigh half the city was burnt down. . . .

(1347) King John's son of Bohemia, whom men called

¹ This would include all of both sexes above the age of fourteen years; in English medieval parlance they were called *housing-folk*. The Chantry certificates enrolled in the reigns of our Henry VIII and Edward VI always reckon populations in these terms: e.g. Sheffield is presented as having 2000 housing-folk, Beverley 5000 and Halifax even 8500.

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Charles IV, and who was already King of Rome, became now full Emperor. This same Charles was wise and well-learned, so that he sought the disputations of the Masters at [the university of] Prague, and could bear himself well therein. And he had once a master who led him to school; to whom he smote an eye out, for that the master chastised him. This he well amended, creating him Archbishop of Prague and afterwards Cardinal. This Charles ruled and governed as a lion for more than thirty years. . . .

(1359) In this year men sang and piped this song:

God give him a year of blight
Who made me to a nun,
Who bade me put this tunic white
And coal-black mantle on!
And must I be a nun in truth,
All against my will? . . .¹

(1367) At the time of oat-harvest in this year, on the eve of St Peter ad Vincula, and in the Castle of Dern, a Freiherr von Dern stabbed Junker Johann, son of the Count of Dietz, so that he died on the spot. And he was a young man of less than thirty years and of goodly length, and had a long face with a lofty nose and smooth hair plaited in a long tail, as was the fashion of that time. And the said Johann would have been Count of Dietz if he had lived; but it came into other hands, as is written here below. The said Freiherr was named Friedrich, a stout knight of fifty years, and was a right Freiherr born of all his four ancestors. And he was cast into prison in the castle of Dern and brought to Dietz; and Count Gerhart, Junker Johann's brother, held a Land-Court at Reckenforst; and the aforesaid Freiherr was beheaded and buried forthwith among the Barefoot Friars of Limburg. Wherefore bethink thee when thou strikest; for Solomon saith: *Fremens ira nulli parcit*,² which is being interpreted: "Grim anger leaveth no man free, Thus Solomon doth

¹ Got gebe ime ein vurdrehen jar, Der mich machte zu einer nunnen, Und mir den swarzen mantel gap, Den wiszen rock daruden. Sal ich ein nunn geworden Sunder minen willen, So wel ich eime knaben jung Sinen komer stillen. Und stillet he mir den minen nit, Daran mach he vurlisen.

² The nearest Biblical passage to this is Prov. xxvii, 4, *Ira non habet misericordiam*.



ALBERT III, DUKE OF AUSTRIA, AND FOUNDER OF
THE ORDER OF TAILED KNIGHTS (1377)

From a window in the church of St Erhard, Styria, showing the case in which the tail was worn over his armour (A. Schultz, *Deutsches Leben*, fig. 246).

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

counsel thee." Now shalt thou know the form and countenance of this Freiherr. He was a square-built man with short crisp hair, and had a broad face with a flat nose. . . .

(1374) Moreover at this time, some five or six years before, there was on the Main a Barefooted Friar who was driven out from among the people, for he was unclean [with leprosy]. He made the best songs and carols in the world, both words and melodies, wherein there lived not his like in Rhineland or in these parts. And, whatsoever he sang, all men sang it gladly after him; all masters, pipers, and other minstrels followed his songs and words. It was he who made that song:

Far from the village am I bann'd,
All doors are closed to wretched me!
Unfaith, unfaith is all I see
On every hand.

And that other:

May, May! thy merry day
Quickeneth me to joyous life.
Tell me, what hath this to say?

And this again:

Unfaith hath made her sport with me!¹. . . .

(1384) In this year it came to pass that lords, knights, and squires wore short hair and crowns cut over the ears like lay-brethren; and so also did burghers in general and the common folk and peasants after the fashion of the rest. . . .

(1386) In these days was a Brother Minor, a Barefoot Friar of Brabant, Jacob by name. He bare himself as though he were a Bishop Suffragan, and had forged letters thereof; yet was he no bishop. This man went far and wide throughout the bishoprics of Mainz and Trier, and had consecrated and ordained more than three thousand acolites, subdeacons, deacons, and priests, who must needs now let themselves all be ordained afresh; and men called them all Jacobites, after the name of this aforesaid rascal Jacob. This same Jacob I

¹ (i) Des dipans bin ich uszgezalt, Man wiset mich armen vur di dure Untruwe ich nu spure Zu allen ziden.

(ii) Mei mei mei, dine wonnecliche zit Menliche freude git, An mir; waz meinet daz?

(iii) Der untruwe ist mit mir gespelet.

A SMALL-BEER CHRONICLE

esteem more wicked than Judas who betrayed and sold Christ the Son of God; for the treason of Judas was made a balm and a salvation for the seed of men; but this other treason was a ruin and destruction to Christendom; for he caused mere layfolk to sing and read masses, whom men deemed to be priests, and yet were they none. For, whensoever men weened that they held up the Body of our Lord, then they held up a *simulacrum*, so that men called upon and adored an idol,¹ and many foul matters thus befel, which I cannot here write. Wherefore thou shalt know the man's form and his face; for I have oftentimes seen him. He was a slender man of even length, dark under the eyes, with a long face and a long sharp pointed nose; and his cheeks were somewhat ruddy, and he writhed with his body and bowed up and down in great courtesy. And he came to an evil end when he was caught in this matter; and that was no more than justice. . . .²

(1394) Moreover at this time a child was born at Niederbrechen in the bishopric of Trier, that had lower limbs of a man and shapen in the upper parts somewhat like a toad. And this was a punishment from God; for, when men asked the woman whether she bare a child, she answered thereunto that she bare a toad; and such was her answer at every time. . . .

(1394) (From the hand of a continuator, p. 107.) It was said that the lord of Arnburg was at ill accord with his wife, who was untrue to him; and his bitter wrath drove him into

¹ This is in strict accordance with scholastic theology: cf. Aquinas, *Summa*, pars III, quaest. lxxx, art. 6. Sir John Maundeville (chap. xviii) draws a slight distinction between a *simulacre*, and an *idol*; the former is an object of worship imitated from some natural object, while the latter is "an image made of the lewd will of man, that man may not find among kindly things, as an image that hath four heads."

² The *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum* (an. 1392) gives us further details. "Many of the priests and clergy in Holy Orders, finding that their ordination was false, married and lived as lay folk; but many were of a better mind, and let themselves be re-ordained by another true Catholic Bishop. . . . The Bishop of Utrecht, having summoned seven other Bishops to that city, brought this aforesaid forger of Papal letters in bonds before the people, clad in full pontificals, whereof he was despoiled again one by one: first of his crozier, then his mitre, then his chasuble, and so on even to his amice. Then the hair of his head was shaven away, and the skins of his finger-tips, wherewith he had been wont to handle the Lord's Body, were cut away down to the bone with a shard of glass." He was condemned to be boiled alive, but was finally beheaded instead, out of respect for his priesthood and the Franciscan Order.

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a frenzy, so that he wandered abroad to beg his bread, and passed the seas and dwelt long in heathen lands, and bare always a naked coat of mail upon his naked flesh. And all his friends deemed him dead. And this endured so long until his wife was dead, and his children begat children of their own, and his sons died, and his grand-children begat him great-grand-children; and in the days of his grand-children he came again to his own land. And the time was so long that few folk knew him, and they were far advanced in age. And the lord of Arnburg also was old and grisly, so that the old folk knew him not well: yet by certain marks that he bare in his body, thereby they knew him better. Moreover he spake many true signs, whereof they knew part already, and the rest they found to be true. Wherefore the lords of Arnburg accepted him for their ancestor, and set him apart his own lodging in the castle of Arnburg, and did him great reverence. And he was sore bowed with age and crabbed of mood, and might not endure the lodging; and then they gave him a village to his own, and a fair house therein. This also he might not endure, and went out again to beg his bread in misery, and came to Cologne, and died within a brief space.

The beautiful manuscript commonly known as *Queen Mary's Psalter* contains a series of illustrations of Old Testament subjects, mainly drawn from the Bible but sometimes based on apocryphal legends; to each picture is appended a few lines of explanatory text. The book dates from about 1320, and shows "the high cultivation and great originality of the English School at this time." The page here given, from plate x of H. N. J. Westlake's edition, represents one of the many legends which grew round the history of Noah. Mr Westlake translates *cleyes* as *nails (clous)*; but the picture itself, as well as the context, seems to point plainly to the far more natural rendering of *wattle-work (claiies)*.

34. THE ROMANCE OF NOAH

(Text to the three upper scenes reproduced on opposite page.)

How the Devil came in man's shape to Noah's wife and asked where her goodman was. And she said that she knew not where. "He is gone to betray thee and the whole world;



E comment legiable sunt en forme de hōme a la femme. Por e remanir a son mari d'hoī
 E de disoit qe ele ne s'out ou il est ale pur ton trair a tote le mund preine ces greines
 e lez va abandon e le doner e il ce dira tūc. Et ainsi fist ele —



Qu'a comenc. Por a charger nūc. e le pē mēc coup q'il seūt. tote le mōnd le oint
 Et las s'unt un angel a li: e il cūc mēc. Le angel li dit tu as maltr. qes pēz
 ne ces pēz e las dēpēs: e chēve ta nef le mēz qe ta purras. Car le flod est
 enueuaunt.

NOAH AND HIS ARK

From *Queen Mary's Psalter*, about A.D. 1320.

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take these grains and make a potion and give it him to drink; then will he tell thee all." And thus she did.

(To the two lower.)

Here began Noah his carpenter's work; and the first stroke that he struck, all the world heard. Then came an angel unto him: and Noah cried, "Mercy!" The angel said unto him, "Thou hast wrought ill; but take these withies and the wattle-work, and finish thy ship as best thou mayest; for the flood is at hand."

Text to the next folio but one in the MS., which comes after the raven and dove incident, and represents the Devil falling head-foremost through a hole in the bottom of the boat, while a writhing snake's tail is plugged into the hole thus made.

And Noah at the entry of his ship cried *Benedicite!* there as he sat at the helm. And The Devil fled away through the bottom of the ship; and the dove thrust his tail into the hole.

Robert de Graystones, Subprior of Durham, was canonically elected and actually consecrated to that bishopric in 1333; but the Pope had meanwhile "provided" Richard de Bury with the prize, and the king gave his assent. Bury, one of the most learned of the English bishops and the probable author of the *Philobiblon*, honourably commends the learning and worth of his unsuccessful rival; and Robert himself tells the story with great impartiality. He did not long outlive his disappointment; his *Chronicle* ends in 1336. The following extract is from the Surtees Society edition, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptt. Tres.*

35. A BISHOP'S LATIN

(p. 118.)

THIS Lewis [Bishop of Durham 1316-33] was of noble birth, sprung from the kings of France and Sicily; he was comely of face but feeble in his feet, for he halted with both legs; so liberal that many called him prodigal; covetous of gain, but less scrupulous of the means whereby he procured it. . . . He was chaste, but unlearned, for he understood not Latin and could scarce pronounce it. When therefore, at his consecration, he should have made his formal profession, he could not read it, though he had been instructed therein for many days beforehand; and having at last arrived, with

A BISHOP'S LATIN

many promptings from others, at the word *Metropolitan*, which after many gasps he yet could not pronounce, at length he said in the French tongue "let that be taken as read!" All the bystanders were amazed, mourning that such a man should be consecrated bishop. Another time, when he was conferring Holy Orders, and could not pronounce that phrase *in aenigmate* [1 Cor. xiii, 12], he said in French to those that stood by, "By St Louis, the man was a clown that wrote this word!" Throughout almost all the days of his bishopric, he studied how he might extort money from the Prior and monks. He had a papal bull empowering him to promote to the dignity of prior whomsoever of the monks he would, and another giving him a fourth part of the priory revenues so long as the Scottish war should last; but, because these bulls had been obtained by suppression of the truth and suggestion of falsehood, therefore his council would not use them. He made no account of the palfreys and gifts which the Prior oftentimes gave him; for whensoever the prior made any request, he would answer, "'Sdeath, ye do naught for me, nor will I do aught for you; pray ye for my death, for so long as I live ye shall have nothing." Yet at the end of his life he had obtained a bull for appropriating the church of Ellewyk, in his own diocese and patronage, to the prior and convent; but death overtook him before he could complete this.

The University of Rome was founded by Boniface VIII in 1303. The removal of Boniface's successors to Avignon, and the long-standing lawlessness of the city, no doubt reacted unfavourably on the discipline of the Roman scholars. The following petition from the Senators to the absentee Pontiff is printed by F. Novati in *Giorn. Storico d. Lett. Italiana*, vol. II, p. 138, from a fourteenth-century manuscript; it belongs almost certainly to the first quarter of that century.

36. MANNERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME

To the most holy Father, etc.

The detestable infamy of crimes which are continually committed by certain sons of iniquity, who claim only in word

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the distinction of the clerical character, being themselves utter strangers to all honesty of morals and knowledge of letters, hath moved us to write to the feet of your Holiness. Know indeed, most Holy Father, that many in the city, furnished only with the shield and privilege conferred by the first tonsure, strive not in honesty of manners, but rather are ordinarily guided by the rule of horrible misdeeds; wandering armed from tavern to tavern and other dishonest places; sometimes going on to quarrel or fight in arms with laymen; committing manslaughter, thefts, robberies and very many other things that are far from honesty. For which things no safeguard or remedy is applied by the ecclesiastical judges holding the place of your most Holy See; but rather, when [these evildoers] are accused of the aforesaid misdeeds in our courts, they compel us to release them from our examination, saying that they themselves will see to the infliction of a fine upon them; and thus, under the cloke of such assertions, these so nefarious and most criminal men, hateful both to God and to man, pass unpunished; which is known to redound no little to the dishonour of the Holy See and to the damage of the Romans. Moreover, this is imputed to our official negligence, when misdeeds so enormous are not quelled by the rigour of our justice; and a most horrible and detestable belief haunts the minds of the Romans, who will say at times, in our presence or elsewhere: "Alas! these miscreants who call themselves clerics and yet comport themselves as layfolk, wherefore are they not punished out of their evil courses? In this the Senators do ill; for in the past, when our lord Boniface of blessed memory sat on the papal chair, the Senate made complaint to him concerning like matters, and he not only commanded their punishment but was as it were troubled in mind against them, for those who had gone scot-free; so likewise, if our present Lord learned the truth, he also would be displeased at their impunity." Wherefore we most piously beseech your Holiness, with all humility and devotion, that if it should so befall that our rigour should go so far as to punish them in virtue of our office as judges, then you would vouchsafe (if it so please you) to permit this unto us and to support us in future with the authority of your Holiness. For

MANNERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME

let not your clemency believe that we are on this account minded to go so far as to touch clerics in possession of church benefices, whom we are purposed and ready to treat with all due reverence, since we are unwilling to do anything derogatory to ecclesiastical liberties. For, most Holy Father, we fear lest, if the aforesaid impious fellows are not controlled to some extent by the secular arm, then the people of Rome will grow to such horror of these their misdeeds as to rise up in wrath and fury not only against these, but even against the aforesaid clerics who are zealous for the orthodox faith. Meanwhile we are ready from the bottom of our heart to carry out cheerfully whatsoever may conduce to the honour of the Papal See.

Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, son to the distinguished soldier mentioned in this first extract, and himself equally distinguished in due time, was taken prisoner by the Scots in 1355, and spent his leisure in writing the *Scalacronica*, a history beginning with the Creation, as usual, but possessing very great value for military and other matters during the reigns of Edward I, II and III. Joseph Stevenson edited the chronicle for the Maitland Club from the Norman Conquest onwards; the years 1274-1362 have been translated into English by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart. (1907).

37. A KNIGHT-ERRANT

(Ed. Stevenson, p. 145.)

TRUE it is that, after the town of Berwick was taken from the English (1318) the Scots had so gotten the upper hand, and were so presumptuous, that they made scarce any account of the English, who busied themselves no longer with the war but let it perish. In these days, at a great feast of lords and ladies in the county of Lincoln, a comely page brought to Sir William Marmion, Knight, a warrior's helm with a golden crest, and a letter from his lady withal, wherein she commanded him to go to the most perilous place in Great Britain and there make this helm known. It was there determined by the knights that he should go to Norham, as the most perilous and adventurous place in the country. Then the

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said Sir William went to Norham; where, within the fourth day of his coming, my lord Alexander de Mowbray, brother of the lord Philip de Mowbray who was then Warden of Berwick, came before Norham castle with the doughtiest chivalry of the Marches of Scotland, and arrayed more than eight score men-at-arms before the castle at the hour of noon. The hue and cry was raised in the castle, as they sat at meat; whereupon the Castellan, Sir Thomas de Gray, went forth with his garrison without the barriers,¹ where he saw the enemy arrayed for battle hard by. Then he looked round and saw the said Sir William Marmion coming on foot, all resplendent with gold and silver, marvellously arrayed, and bearing that helm on his head. Sir Thomas Gray had well heard of the manner of his coming, wherefore he cried aloud to him: "Sir Knight, ye are come here as a knight-errant to make known this helm of yours; wherefore it is better and more fitting that your knighthood be shown on horseback than on foot; mount therefore your horse; behold there your enemies; strike spurs into your steed, and go break into their midst; for I here deny my God if I rescue not your body alive or dead, but if I die myself!" Then that knight mounted a stout charger, and struck spurs into his sides, and brake into the midst of his enemies, who smote upon him and wounded him in the face and drew him from his saddle to the earth. Then came the said Sir Thomas with all his garrison, lance in rest, and smote the horses in the bowels so that they overthrew their masters. Thus they drave back their mounted enemies, raised up the fallen knight, mounted him again on his horse, and chased after their enemies; at which first encounter seven were slain, and fifty horses of price taken. The women of the castle brought the horses to their men, who mounted and made chase and smote down all whom they might overtake. Thomas de Gray slew in the Yair Ford one Cryn, a Fleming, an admiral of the sea and a robber, who was a great master with Robert de Bruce. The rest who escaped were chased even to the nunnery of Berwick.

¹ For the barriers outside a fortification see the illustration to vol. III, no. 48.

CHAUCER'S MARCH

When Chaucer was called as a witness in the Scrope case, he deposed that, before his own capture, he had seen Sir Thomas Scrope bearing certain arms "before the town of Retters." It has been debated whether this was Retiers in Brittany or Réthel in the Ardennes; the question is decided by the following passage from the *Scalacronica*; for Château-Porcein is close by Réthel. The passage shows incidentally that Chaucer was with the Black Prince's division, which alone passed this way. It started, like the other divisions, from Calais in October, 1359. (Ed. Stevenson, p. 188.)

38. CHAUCER'S MARCH

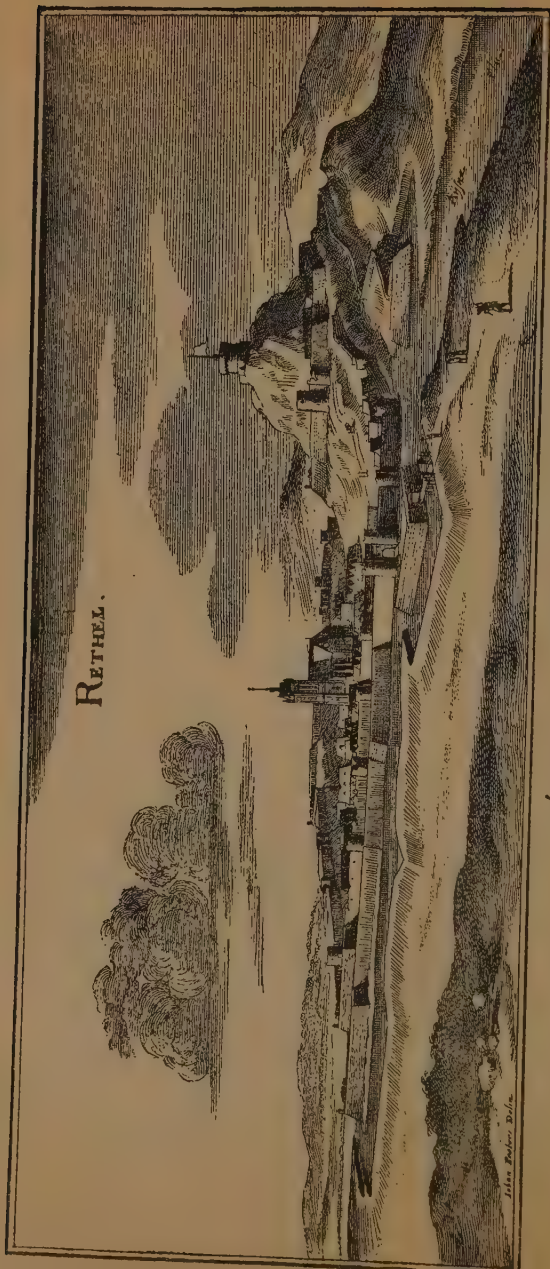
THE prince, son to the king aforesaid, took the way by Montreuil and Hesdin, through Ponthieu and Picardy, crossing the Somme and passing by Neuilly and Ham into Vermandois; near which place Sir Baudouin Daukin, knight, Master of the Crossbowmen of France, with other French knights, was taken in fight by the men of the Prince's train, as he would have overrun by night the quarters of the earl of Stafford, who defended himself well. . . . So the Prince held his way aforesaid by St Quentin and Retieris, where the enemy themselves burned their town to hinder the passage; but the Prince's men passed [the river] by main force at Château-Porcein, and then passed through Champagne and joined his father's host before Reims.

I had occasion to point out, on p. 199 of *Chaucer and his England*, how much trade was done by the knightly and clerical classes, and how thoroughly medieval is the surviving Florentine custom by which you may buy a bottle of wine at the door of a princely palace. After many attempts on the part of church councils to forbid trade, and especially the liquor trade, to the clergy, this Council of Cologne set itself in 1333, probably with more success, to regulate rather than suppress it. See Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, vol. IV, p. 430.

39. CLERICAL INNKEEPERS

SEEING that our predecessor Henry, of pious memory, ordained by statute that no clerics, secular or monastic, should ply the trade of taverners—yet he would not that this statute should altogether prohibit the selling of such wine as a cleric

RETHEL.



RÉTHEL IN THE ARDENNES

From a seventeenth-century view in Zeiller's *Topographia*.

John Parker Delin.

CLERICAL INNKEEPERS

may derive from his own benefice or from any other source than trade, provided always that this be done without deceit or fraudulent evasion of the aforesaid statute, and in such manners as have hitherto been used, and decent—yet some men call in question what may be the accustomed and decent manners of sale, to be kept by the clergy in this matter of wine-dealing. We therefore by this present statute have thought good to declare the following as customary and decent fashions of selling wine: to wit, that such sales should be conducted without vociferation or clamour of taverners and (so far as in the sellers lieth) without fraud; without tarrying or stay of men drinking such wines either within or at the door of the house, or within the privileged premises wherein such wines are sold; nor, when men would fain drink such wines, may any occasion be given of tarrying or staying at that same place, by the lending of cups or jugs, as is commonly done in taverns of laymen, nor may such be supplied in any way; and these manners aforesaid of selling wine are, in virtue of this present statute, to be used henceforth by clerics.

Henry Knighton was a Canon of Leicester Abbey; his *Chronicle* is extremely valuable from the middle of Edward III's reign to that of Henry IV. His evidence as to the Wycliffite movement and the Black Death has so often been quoted that I prefer to insert here two shorter extracts typical of the time.

40. TOURNEY AND MASQUERADE

(Vol. II, p. 57, A.D. 1348.)

IN those days there arose a great clamour and outcry among the people, seeing that in almost every place where tourneys were held they were attended by a band of ladies who formed part, as it were, of the spectacle. These came in divers and marvellous men's garments, to the number sometimes of forty, sometimes of fifty ladies, of the fairest and comeliest in the whole realm, yet not of the most virtuous. They were clad in motley tunics, half of one colour and half of another, with

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short hoods and liripipes¹ wound like cords round their heads, and richly-studded girdles of silver or gold, nay, even across their bodies they wore pouches containing those knives that are commonly called *daggers*; and thus they rode forth to the place of tourney on choice chargers or richly-decked palfreys, thus wasting their own goods and debasing their bodies with folly and scurrilous wantonness, as it was commonly reported. Thus they neither feared God nor blushed for the modest outcries of the people, but made nought of their marriage-vows. Nor did those in whose train they followed consider how great favour and how splendid a victory had been vouchsafed to the English arms by God the giver of all good things, in despite of all the enemies that beset us. But herein, as in all other matters, God brought a wondrous remedy by scattering their dissolute concourse; for He showered upon the places and times that had been appointed for such vain sports, rain and thunder and flashes of lightning, with all discomforts of wind and tempests.

41. THE FRENCH POPE

(*Ib.* p. 93, A.D. 1356, after the battle of Poitiers.)

IN those days, discord arose between the clergy and the Friars Minor concerning certain opinions, and both parties appealed to the Roman court: wherefore Master Richard [Fitzralph], Bishop of Armagh, crossed the sea with many other clerics to go to the Court in defence of the clergy. And this same Richard had a subsidy from the clergy, and the abbot of St Albans was his proctor. Moreover, seeing that the Pope ever favoured the French, and supported them so far as in him lay against the English, and that God had vouchsafed such a miracle to us in granting victory to so few men against so great a multitude of the French, therefore it was written in many places at Vienne [where the Pope lodged] and in many other towns, "Now is the Pope become French and

¹ Tails or streamers to a hood.

THE FRENCH POPE

Jesus become English; now shall we see who will do most, the Pope or Jesus."¹ And this was written in derision.

Extracts 42 and 43 are two of the most picturesque passages omitted from the Globe edition of Froissart—an edition with which no fault can be found except its necessary incompleteness. No. 42 is wanting altogether in the text from which Lord Berners translated: it may be found in Buchon's edition, vol. I, p. 284; the other is on p. 62 of vol. III.

42. THE SPANIARDS ON THE SEA

IN those days there was great rancour between the King of England and the Spaniards by reason of certain misdeeds and pillages which the said Spaniards had done upon the English by sea. Wherefore it befel in this year [1350] that the Spaniards who had come to Flanders for their merchandise had warning that they could not return to their own country but that they would first be met by the English. Wherefore they took counsel, and resolved not to take no too great account thereof; and they provided themselves at Sluys well and plenteously, both their ships and their boats, with all armour and good artillery; and they hired all sorts of people, soldiers and archers and crossbowmen, who would take their wages; and they waited one for the other, and made their bargains and their purchases even as their business demanded.

When the King of England, who hated them sore, heard how plenteously they provided themselves, then he said aloud, "We have long known the manner of these Spaniards, and they have done us much despite, and they come even yet to no amendment, but rather fortify themselves against us; wherefore we must needs sweep them up as they pass." To this speech his men gave ready assent, for they were glad to fight with the Spaniards. Therefore the King made a great and special levy of all his gentlemen who were then in England, and set forth from London and came to the county of

¹ Ore est le Pape devenu Franceys
E Jesu devenu Engleys.
Ore serra veou qe fra plus
Ly Pape ou Jesus.

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Sussex, which sat upon the seaboard betwixt Hampton and Dover, facing the country of Ponthieu and Dieppe; thither he came and kept house in an abbey by the sea. . . .¹

When the Spaniards had made their purchases and had laden their ships with cloth of wool and of linen and all that they thought good and profitable to bring home to their country, (and they knew well that the English would meet them, but thereof made they no account,) then came they to



A SHIP OF WAR

From a MS. of 1352 in Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. du Mobilier*, t. v, p. 182.

the town of Sluys and came aboard their ships, wherein they had made so plenteous provision of artillery as it is marvel to think of; and withal they had great bars of iron ready forged and fashioned for casting and for sinking of ships, with launching of stones and pebbles beyond all number. When they saw that they had a fair wind, they weighed anchor; and they were forty great ships all of one fashion, so stout and fair that it was pleasant to see; and in the mast-trees they had built

¹ Probably Battle. The castle mentioned later would no doubt be the queen's castle of Pevensey.

THE SPANIARDS ON THE SEA

crows'-nests well stored with stones and pebbles, and skirmishers to guard them. Moreover their masts were hung with standards emblazoned with their bearings, which bellied and flew and fluttered in the wind; it was a full fair sight to see and imagine. And meseemeth that, if the English had great desire to find them, they themselves desired it yet more, as it appeared now and as I will hereafter tell you. These Spaniards were full a ten to one, what with the soldiers whom they had taken to wages in Flanders. Wherefore they felt themselves strong enough to fight by sea against the King of England and his power; with which intent they came sailing and scudding before the wind, for they had it at their stern, past the town of Calais. The King of England, who was at sea with his navy, had there ordered all his needs, and commanded how he would have his men fight and bear themselves; and he had made my lord Robert of Namur master of a ship that they called King's Hall, wherein was all his household.

So the King stood at his ship's prow, clad in a jacket of black velvet, and on his head a hat of black beaver that became him right well; and he was then (as I was told by such as were with him that day) as merry as ever he was seen. He made his minstrels sound before him on their trumpets a German dance that had been brought in of late by my lord John Chandos, who was there present; and then for pastime he made the said knight sing with his minstrels, and took great pleasure therein; and at times he would look upwards, for he had set a watch in the top-castle of his ship to give tidings of the Spaniards' coming. While the King thus took his pleasure, and all his knights were glad of heart to see how merry he was, then the watch was aware of the Spaniards' fleet, and cried: "Ho! I see a ship coming, and methinks it is a ship of Spain!" Then the minstrels held their peace, and it was asked of him again whether he saw aught else; then within a brief space he answered and said: "Yes, I see two—and then three—and then four." Then, when he was aware of the great fleet, he cried, "I see so many, God help me! that I may not tell them." Then the King and his men knew well that these were the Spanish ships. Then the King let sound his trumpets, and all their ships came together to be in better array, and to lie

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more surely; for well they knew that the battle was at hand, since the Spaniards came in so great a fleet. By this time the day was far spent, for it was about the hour of vespers. So the King sent for wine and drank thereof, he and all his knights; then he laced on his helm, and the rest did likewise.

Meanwhile the Spaniards drew nigh; and they might well have departed without battle, if they had desired it; for, being well equipped and in great ships, and having the wind in their favour, they had no need to speak with the English but if it had been their will. Nevertheless through pride and presumption they deigned not to pass by without hail; wherefore they sailed straight on in full array to begin the battle. When the King of England saw how they came on, then he addressed his ship straight to a Spanish ship which came in the vanguard, crying to his steersman, "Lay your helm right upon that ship which cometh hither, for I would fain joust against him." The mariner, who would never have dared to gainsay the King's will, steered straight for that Spanish ship, which bore down boisterously before the wind. The King's ship was stout and well bound, else had it surely been burst; for it met with that Spanish ship, which was big and bulky, with such a crash that it seemed like the bursting of a storm; and, with the shock of their meeting, the top-castle of the King's ship smote so sore against the Spaniard that the force of that mast brake it from above the mast whereon it sat, and spilt it into the sea; so that all were drowned and lost who sat therein. With which shock the King's ship was so aghast that it cracked and drew water, whereof his knights were soon aware, yet said naught thereof to the King, but bestirred themselves to bale and empty her. Then said the King who saw before his face this ship against which he had jousted: "Grapple my ship with this here, for I would fain take her." Then answered his knights: "Sire, leave this alone; ye shall have a better." So that ship sailed on, and another great vessel came up, whereunto the knights grappled with chains and hooks of steel. Then began a battle both hard and sharp and strong; for the archers shot their shafts, and the Spaniards fought and defended themselves with a right good will; and this not in one place only, but in ten or twelve. When therefore they found themselves well

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matched against the stoutest of their enemies, then they grappled with them and did marvellous feats of arms. Yet the English had no whit of advantage. For the Spaniards were in those great ships of theirs, far higher and bigger than the English ships; whereof they had great advantage in shooting, in hurling, and in casting great bars of iron wherewith they gave the English much to suffer. The knights of the King of England who were in his ship, seeing that it drew water and was in peril of foundering, made hot haste to conquer that ship whereunto they were grappled; and there were many doughty deeds of arms done. At length the King and his men bare themselves so well that this ship was won, and all her crew cast overboard.¹ Then they told the King in what peril he was, and how his ship made water, and that he must needs come on board that which he had won. So he inclined to this advice and came on board with his knights and all the mariners, and left the other empty; and then they pressed forwards again to make assault upon their enemies, who fought right valiantly, and had crossbowmen who shot quarrels from strong crossbows, and gave much travail to the English.

This battle of the Spaniards and English was hard and strong and well fought; but it began late in the day, wherefore the English had much ado to achieve their task and to discomfit their enemies. Moreover the Spaniards, who are men trained to the sea and who had great and stout vessels, acquitted themselves loyally as best they might. On the other part fought the young Prince of Wales and those under his charge; their ship was grappled and fixed to a great Spanish vessel, and there the Prince and his men had much to suffer, for their ship was pierced and broken in several places, wherefore the water rushed in with great vehemence; and, for all that they might do to cast it forth, the ship waxed still the heavier. Wherefore all the Prince's men were in great anguish of fear, and fought most fiercely to win that Spanish ship; but in vain, for she was stoutly guarded and defended.

¹ Cf. the Shipman of Chaucer's *Prologue*:

If that he foughte, and hadde the heigher hand,
By water he sent hem hoom to every land.

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Upon this peril and danger wherein the Prince and his men stood, then came the Duke of Lancaster sailing hard by the Prince's vessel, and learned how they could win no whit of advantage and how their ship was in sore straits; for men cast the water forth on every side. Therefore he went round and stayed at the Spanish ship, and cried, "A Derby to the rescue!" Then were these Spaniards assaulted and foughten most fiercely withal, that they lasted not long after. Thus was their ship won, and all were cast overboard without taking any mercy; and the Prince of Wales with his men entered into their ship. Scarce were they come in, when their own ship sank to the bottom; and then they considered more fully the great peril wherein they had stood.

On the other side fought the English barons and knights; each as he was ordered and established; and sore need had they to bear themselves stoutly and busily, for they found a sharp welcome. So it came to pass, late in the evening, that the ship of the King's Hall, whereof my lord Robert of Namur was chief, was grappled in fierce and tough fight with a great Spanish ship; and the said Spaniards, desiring to master their enemies better at their ease and to take the vessel with all that were therein, set all their intent upon carrying her away with them. Wherefore they hoisted sail, and took all advantage of the wind, and sailed away for all that my lord Robert and his men might do; for the Spanish ship was greater and bigger than theirs, and thus they had good advantage for the mastery. While they thus sailed, they passed by the King's ship: wherefore they cried aloud, "Rescue now the King's Hall!" But no man heard them, for the hour was late; and, even had they been heard, none could have rescued them. And methinks these Spaniards would have led them away at their ease, when a servant of my lord Robert, whose name was Hankin, did there a doughty deed of arms; for he made his spring, with a naked sword in his hand, and leapt into the Spanish ship; there he came to the mast and cut the rope that bare the sail, which fell without force to the deck—for, with great valiance of body, this Hankin cut four master-ropes that governed the mast and the sail—wherefore the said sail fell to the deck, so that the ship stayed still and might go no further. Then my



A SEA-FIGHT

From the C.C.C., Cambridge, miniatures to Matthew Paris, drawn about 1250 by monks of St Albans (J. Strutt, *Horða Angel Cynaan*, pls. xxi, xxii).

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

lord Robert of Namur and his men, seeing their advantage, came forward and leapt into the Spanish ship with a right good will, having their drawn swords in their hands; and they made fierce assault upon all such as they found therein, until all were slain and cast into the sea; and the ship was won.

I cannot say of all these men, "This one did well, and that one better." But there was fought, the while it endured, a most fierce and bitter battle; and the Spaniards gave much ado to the King of England and his men. Yet at the last the victory remained with the English, and the Spaniards lost fourteen ships; the remnant sailed on and escaped. When they were all gone, and the King with his men knew no longer with whom to fight, then they sounded their trumpets for retreat and made head for England, and landed at Rye and Winchelsea soon after nightfall. Then forthwith the King and his sons, the Prince and the Earl of Richmond, the Duke of Lancaster and certain barons who were there, disembarked from their ships and took horse in the town and rode towards the Queen's manor which was two English leagues distant from thence. Then was the Queen glad at heart when she beheld her lord and her sons, seeing that she had suffered great anguish of heart that day for fear of the Spaniards; for men had seen the fight well enough from the hills on that part of the English coasts, for the air was full fine and clear. Wherefore the Queen, who had required to know the truth, had heard how the Spaniards had more than forty great ships; how great then was now her comfort to see her spouse and his sons! Then the lords and ladies passed all that night in great revel, devising of arms and of love. Next day the greater part of the barons and lords who had fought in that battle came to the King, who thanked them heartily for their deeds and their service; and then they took their leave and departed each to his own home.¹

¹ The later text of Froissart printed by Siméon Luce describes how the queen had spent all day praying in an abbey; how the victors rejoined her only at two o'clock in the morning, and how the minstrels were arrayed next day in the fine cloth of Valenciennes taken from the Spaniards.

A PICTURESQUE BANDIT

43. A PICTURESQUE BANDIT

AYMERIGOT MARCEL was sore displeased with himself in that he had sold and delivered the strong castle of Aloïse by St Flour: for he saw his own authority thereby greatly abated, and perceived well how he was the less feared: for all the season that he kept it, he was redoubted and feared, and honoured with all men of war of his party, and had kept a great estate always in the castle of Aloïse: the blackmail of countries that he held under subjection was well worth yearly twenty thousand florins. When he remembered all this he was sorrowful; his treasure he thought he would not minish; he was wont daily to search for new pillages, whereby he increased his profit, and then he saw that all was closed from him. Then he said and imagined, that he had too soon repented of well-doing, and that to kill and to rob even as he had done before, (all things considered), was a good life. On a time he said to his old companions, who had helped him with this device of war: "Sirs, there is no pastime nor sport, nor glory in this world but that of men of war, to use such life as we have done in time past. What a joy it was to us when we rode forth at adventure, and sometime found by the way a rich abbot or prior or merchant, or a route of mules of Montpellier, of Narbonne, of Limoges, of Fougaron, of Béziers, of Toulouse, or of Carcassone, laden with cloth of Brussels, or musterdevillers or peltryware, coming from the fairs or laden with spicery from Bruges, from Damascus, or from Alexandria; whatsoever we met all was ours, or else ransomed at our pleasures; daily we gat new money, and the villeins of Auvergne, and of Limousin, daily provided and brought to our castle wheat, meal, bread ready baken, oats for our horses, and litter, good wines, beeves, and fat muttons, pullets, and wild fowl; we were ever furnished as though we had been kings: when we rode forth all the country trembled for fear, all was ours going or coming. How took we Carlat, I and the Bourg¹ of Compiègne, and I and Pierrot of Béarn took Chalucet? How did we scale without other aid the strong

¹ Bastard.

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castle of Marquay, pertaining to the Earl Dauphin! I kept it not past five days but I received for it on a fair table five thousand francs, and forgave one thousand for the love of the Earl Dauphin's children! By my faith, this was a fair and a good life, wherefore I repute myself sore deceived in that I have rendered up the fortress of Aloïse: for it would have been kept from all the world; and the day that I gave it up, it was furnished with victuals to have been kept seven year without any revictualling: this earl of Armagnac hath deceived me; Olivier Barbe, and Pierrot of Béarn, shewed me how I should repent myself: certainly I sore repent me of that I have done." And, when such of his companions as were poor and had served him long heard him speak these words, they perceived well how he spake them with all his heart unfeigned; then they said to him: "Aymerigot, we are all ready yet to serve you: let us renew again our war, and let us get some stronghold in Auvergne, or in Limousin, and let us fortify it; and then, sir, we shall soon recover our damages; we shall make a goodly flight in Auvergne, and in Limousin; for, as now, the Earl Dauphin and Hugh his brother are out of the country, and divers other knights and squires in their company into the voyage of Barbary, and specially the lord of Coucy, who hath the sovereign regard under the king of all those marches; therefore we shall not need to fear him, nor the duke of Berry, for he is disporting himself at Paris, so thus we shall have now a good season." "Well," quoth Aymerigot, "I have good will thus to do, saving I am by name expressed in the charter of the truce." "What for that, sir," quoth his company; "ye need not care therefore if ye list; ye are not subject to the French king, ye owe him neither faith nor obeisance: ye are the King of England's man, for your heritage (which is all destroyed and lost) lieth in Limousin; and, sir, we must live; and though we make war to live, the Englishmen will not be discontent with us, and such as be in our case will draw to us: and sir, we have now good title to make war, for we in Auvergne, having all been paid the blackmail which men owe us there, let us send to the villeins of the villages when we be once in a stronghold, and command them to pay us a tribute, or else to make them sore

A PICTURESQUE BANDIT

war." "Well, so be it!" quoth Aymerigot, "first let us provide for a strong place to abide in, and to draw unto when we need." Some of them said, "Sir, we know where there is a dismantled stronghold, abandoned of all, pertaining to the heritage of the lord de la Tour: no man keepeth it: let us draw thither and fortify it, then when we have garnished it may we at our ease run into Auvergne and Limousin." "Where lieth this place?" quoth Aymerigot. "Sir," quoth they, "within a league of la Tour, and it is called la Roche de Vendais." "By my faith," quoth Aymerigot, "I know it well: it is a meet place for us; let us go thither and fortify it." Thus on this purpose they concluded, and on a day assembled together and went to la Roche de Vendais. Then Aymerigot aviewed the place to see if it were worth the fortifying thereof; and when he had well aviewed the situation thereof, and the defences that might be made there, it pleased him right well. Thus they took it and fortified it little and little, or ever they raided and began to do any displeasure in the country; and when they saw the place strong sufficiently to resist against siege or assault, and that they were well horsed, and well provided of all things necessary for their defence, then they began to ride abroad in the country, and took prisoners and ransomed them, and provided their hold with flesh, meal, wax, wine, salt, iron, and steel, and of all other necessities; there came nothing amiss to them without it had been too heavy or too hot. The country all about, and the people, weening to have been in rest and peace by reason of the truce made between the two kings and their realms, they began then to be sore abashed; for these robbers and pillers took them in their houses, and wheresoever they found them, in the fields labouring; and they called themselves Adventurers.

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The *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani* is a chronicle of the abbots of that great house compiled about 1350 by Thomas Walsingham, precentor of the abbey and last of the great English chroniclers. The writer had access to the wide collection of documents in his abbey; the *Gesta* extends from 793 to 1349, and Walsingham's own *Historia Anglicana* goes down to 1422. The edition of the *Gesta* here used is that published in the Rolls Series; it is brilliantly summarized by Froude in one of his *Short Studies* ("Annals of an English Abbey").

44. THE CONQUERED ENGLISH

(Vol. I, p. 41.)

IN the days of this abbot [Frederic, 1064-1067] England was taken and subdued by the Normans, and evils began to multiply on the earth, according to the exposition of a vision of the sainted King Edward, who saw the Seven Sleepers turning from their right sides to their left. Which was an omen to mortals, and more especially to the English; robbery and envy, pride and nightlong dicing, swilling and divers forms of lechery, uncleanness and perjury, began their unhappy career, even as the little fire of charity began to wax cold. The country was full of wandering housebreakers and robbers. The nightlong dice, with horrible oaths contrary to English wont, stirred up strife and manslaughter; and the Age of Silver—nay, rather, of Clay—succeeded to the now fading Golden Age. The lords of England, who since Brutus' days had never known the yoke of slavery, were now scorned, derided, and trodden under foot: they were compelled to shave their beards and clip their flowing locks in the Norman fashion: casting aside their horns and wonted drinking-vessels, their feasts and carousals, they were compelled to submit to new laws. Wherefore many of the English nobles refused the yoke of slavery and fled with all their households to live by plunder in the woods, so that scarce any man could go safely abroad in his own neighbourhood; the houses of all peaceful folk were armed like a besieged city with bows and arrows, bills and axes, clubs and daggers and iron forks; the doors were barred with locks and bolts. The master of the house would say prayers as if on a tempest-tost bark; as doors or windows

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were closed, men said *Benedicite*, and *Dominus* echoed reverently in response; a custom which lasted even into our own days [probably about A.D. 1150].

The *Chronicon de Melsa* was compiled by Thomas de Burton, who was elected in 1396 to the abbacy of the Cistercian house of Meaux in Yorkshire. It throws much light not only on the business life of a monastery, but also on ecclesiastical politics as understood by an average churchman of the day. The following extract is from the Rolls edition, vol. III, p. 38.

45. A GOOD POPE

IN the year of our Lord 1342 died Pope Benedict XII, on the day of St Gregory the Pope and in the seventh year of his pontificate; of whom it is said that there was none more righteous than he since St Gregory. On his deathbed, the cardinals prayed him to commit his powers to one of them, who might thus give him plenary absolution for all that he had committed; but he refused, saying: "I will not give my glory to another; but I submit myself to God's mercy." Again, when they prayed him to think of his kinsfolk and friends, and to distribute of his goods among them, he made answer: "I am a monk, and possess nought of mine own; whereof then could I make a testament or a distribution? Think not that I shall take away the goods of the church to give them to my kinsfolk." They prayed him therefore to fix the place where he should be buried; but he answered: "I may not choose mine own sepulchre, seeing that I am a monk." For he had so loved his monastic state that, even as a Pope, he ever wore a cowl for his outer garment in his lower closet; and daily he sang mass in his monk's cowl within his private chapel. When therefore he must needs leave his closet and go in the sight of the people and put on his pontificals according to custom, then he would kiss his cowl as he laid it down, saying, "Farewell, monk!" and taking his pontificals he would say, "Welcome, lord Pope!" On his return, as he laid aside his pontificals and resumed his cowl, then would he say, "Farewell, Pope! and thou, monk, come hither!" For he was most humble and

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affable and ready to jest with all men; wherefore it is said that, while he drew almost his last breath, he was asked by those that stood by whether he could eat aught; to which he made answer: "No indeed, nor yet drink, whereof we have a more evil report."¹ So he held the papal see for six years and four months and twelve days, and died, and was buried in the cathedral church of Avignon.

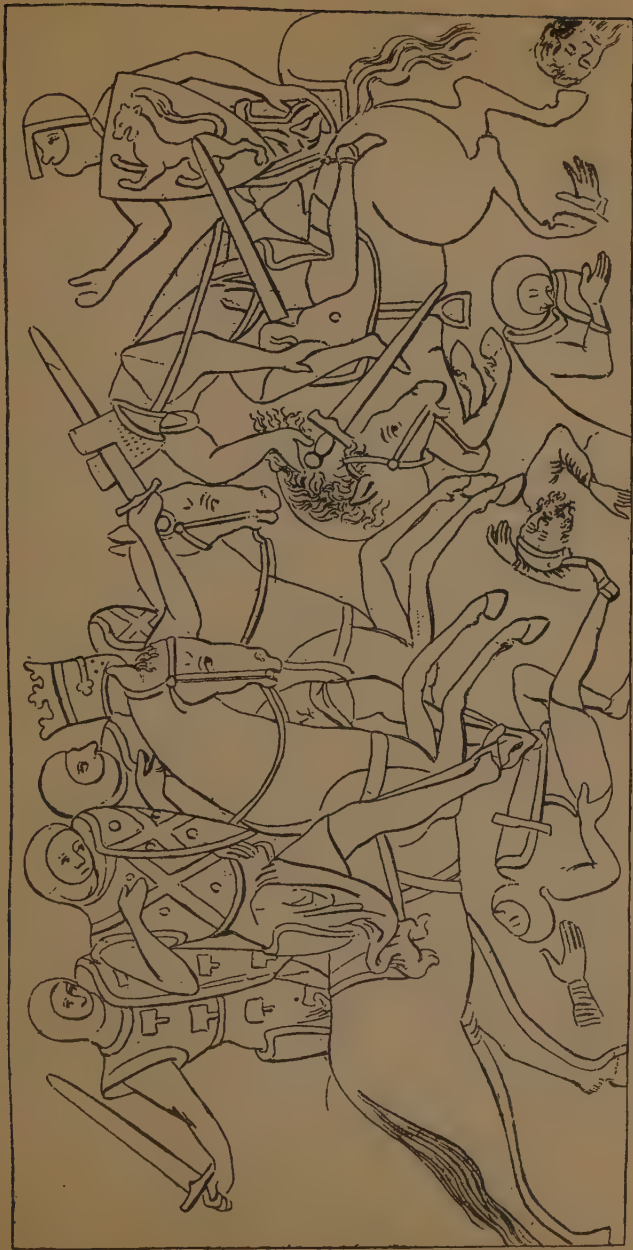
Neville's Cross (1346) is one of the most glorious victories in our annals, because it was fought entirely in self-defence, and proved so triumphantly the value of the citizen-levies at a time when the more regular army was engaged abroad. The author of the following poem, probably a monk of Durham, lays even more stress than most other contemporaries upon the services of the clergy, from the Archbishop of York downwards. The whole Latin poem may be found on pp. 63 ff. of *Illustrations of Scottish History* (Maitland Club, 1834).

46. A NATION IN ARMS

THE English came on in three battles, the Northumbrians in the van, a good 20,000 fighting-men under Percy, whom we know well. "If we might bear down his standard, and Neville's that floats by its side, then within a brief space we would take the English and their Archbishop, like an orphan." Then again (as men say) spake King David to his barons: "In England are no men of war, but mere clerks, holy-water-sprinklers; we will turn these Confessors into Martyrs! This folk here gathered is but as chaff; the good corn is in France, hard bested; if fortune will, we shall take all these Englishmen as the fowler taketh the fowls with his birdlime. Philip of France, our special friend, hath written us by letter that there is no man or woman left in England who can defend his own head from evil."

Then ran the Scots to arms; the hills gleamed with golden shields; the strong men flocked to their king's side, and skipped

¹ Unfriendly contemporaries accused him of excess, and of having given rise to the proverbial saying: "Bibamus papaliter," "Let us drink like a Pope" (Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Aven.* vol. 1, pp. 240 ff.).



A MÊLÉE

From MS. Nero D. i, fol. 3 b; miniatures by a thirteenth-century monk of St Albans (Strutt, *l.c.* pl. xxxvii).

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for the greatness of their rejoicing. At that moment a simple monk came to them, sent by the Prior [of Durham] to treat of peace; whom David in his fury commanded to be slain, yet the word of his mouth was not fulfilled. Forth from the wood came the Scots in close array, well furnished with swords and staves; yet, though they were so well equipped, they were but excommunicate. When the Scots arrayed their battles in order, then our own men came too in good array, advancing slowly with bray of trumpet, ready to meet with cut and thrust. Then ran our archers forth to meet the Scots, and sent angels to persecute them;¹ so shrewdly did we pick the Scotsmen's teeth that all may rue it still who outlived that day! English and Scots rushed together like furious lions greedy of the prey; but because the Scots had confessed their sins to no priest, therefore were they shriven now with cut and thrust. . . . Percy stood and fought stoutly with the Scots while many great lords tarried far off; seeing which, the Earl of Angus hastened to Percy with all his forces, and two hundred sworn companions. Neither the earl nor Percy turned his face until every foeman was overcome; scarce one stood his ground, rich or poor, whereby so much foul blood was spilt. Then came the Archbishop, Zouch by name, in a rough mood to shave and bless their crowns;² whosoever was thus ordained failed not to feel his blows; all such were henceforth his blessed brethren! He had a deacon, too, the polished Mowbray, and a subdeacon, the grey-headed Robert Okyll, who was so reckless in this ordination that he may never be chaplain henceforth.³ For these clergy, these Confessors, whom David called holy-water-sprinklers, gave short shrift with oaken staves to their mockers, who lie thus dead for their sins. . . . Let no man take the glory of this deed of arms, for all that was done on that field was a miracle. God be praised Who keepeth His covenant, and who avenged the unjust violence done to St Cuthbert. Let us all refuse the deceitful praise [of men] and pour out prayers to the throne of

¹ Ps. xxxv, 6: "Let their way be dark and slippery, and let the angel of the Lord persecute them."

² Literally, "to confer Orders."

³ To say mass after shedding man's blood needed a Papal dispensation.

A NATION IN ARMS

grace that we may so pass through things temporal as finally to lose not the things eternal!

This should be compared with the account of the battle on pp. 348 ff. of the *Lanercost Chronicle*, evidently imitated in great part from a similar ballad. The author adds further particulars reminding us forcibly of Frère Jean des Entommeures.

"There was also [besides the Archbishop of York] another Bishop of the Order of Friars Minor; who bade the English fight like men to earn his blessing, adding threats of extreme penance if any should spare the Scots. And when he met the enemy he absolved them not *a poena et a culpa*, but with a certain staff of his he gave them an indulgence of days, not without grievous penance and effectual absolution; such power had he at that time that, without preliminaries of confession, he absolved the Scots with his aforesaid staff from every legal act [in this life]."

Not only did the clergy do their duty manfully in these wars, but we also find criminals sometimes pardoned on condition of joining the king's army. Of the Halidon Hill campaign Father Stevenson writes in his notes to the *Lanercost Chronicle* (p. 430, A.D. 1333): "It appears by the Rotuli Scotiæ that Edward, in his anxiety to obtain troops, had granted a free pardon of all crimes to all who joined the army. See 1, 254, dated 24 July. A letter from the king to his chancellor, written upon 4 November next following, shows that this officer had been beset by applicants who wished to avail themselves of this proclamation without having fought at Halidon. The king was consulted as to whether his proclamation should be interpreted in a literal manner, and his answer was that it should."

J. Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, p. 127, A.D. 1346. This document should be read in conjunction with the fact that, as early as 1246, the great Dominican Minister-General Humbert de Romans had urged upon the Pope in Council that some official manual should be drawn up for the guidance of the clergy in their preaching and other duties. Archbishop Peckham and Bishop Quivil compiled brief treatises of the kind during the thirteenth century; fuller but unofficial manuals began to be drawn up in the fourteenth century; yet in 1411 the University of Paris was still vainly urging upon the Council of Constance the necessity for some authoritative book for the whole Church.

47. A CLERICAL REFERENCE LIBRARY

To all sons of Holy Church to whose notice these letters present may come, Brother Hamo, by God's permission Bishop of Rochester, wisheth eternal salvation in the Lord. Know ye all how we have learned by frequent experience (as we sadly remember) that some churchmen of our diocese,

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

bearing not only the cure of souls but even the office of penitentiaries,¹ although commendable both for their life and for their learning, yet have committed grievous and absurd errors [*non modicum delirasse*] for lack of books profitable to such cure or such office, especially in the matter of consultations and salutary advice to their flocks, of enjoining penances, and of granting absolution to penitents. We therefore, desiring greatly to bring such remedy as we can to the aforesaid evils, have thought fit to assign the following books, under the manners and conditions hereafter to be set down, for ministering some manner of [*aliqualem*] information in future times to the aforesaid priests with cures of souls or who hold the office of Penitentiary, and for advancing the salvation of souls. We give therefore hereby as a gift between living persons, and with all prerogatives and favour of our last will we bequeath and assign to the Prior and Chapter and Cathedral of Rochester, our glossed books of Decrees and Decretals, the sixth book of the Decretals with two glosses in one volume, the seventh book (or Clementine Constitutions) unglossed, bound up with divers Provincial Constitutions, the book of Pope Innocent on the Decretals, a volume of Matthew and Mark with glosses, the *Historia Scholastica* of the Bible; also a volume of the *Summa* of Raymond [de Pennaforte] and one of Avicenna on the counsel of medicine, and one little book of the Vices and Virtues, and two stitched books whereof one beginneth *Qui bene presunt* and the other treateth of the articles of faith, the beatitudes, and the petitions; and lastly the book of Papias the Elder on Grammar; willing, commanding and ordaining that all these books be laid up and kept within our Cathedral, in a chest under two locks, there to be preserved under safe custody for ever, or as long as they may last. . . . Provided that none of the aforesaid books be carried out of the said Cathedral, and that each, when it has been inspected [by the reader] for a reasonable time, be forthwith returned to the custodians; Excepting only, during our own lifetime, the use of the said books be at our good pleasure, whether within or without the aforesaid Cathedral.

¹ Select priests deputed by a Pope or bishop to hear and absolve reserved cases in confession.



MASTER, USHER, AND BOYS

From the Manessesche Handschrift at Heidelberg (early fourteenth century), fol. 292.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

John de Grandisson was one of the most notable English bishops of the fourteenth century. He was born in 1292, the second son of an English baron who was descended from the lords of Granson near Neuchâtel, and therefore nearly connected with some of the greatest families on the continent. One of his cousins was the Sir Otho de Granson, "flower of them that make in France," to whom Chaucer did the honour of translating three of his *balades*. In later life, the bishop himself inherited the barony (1358). His second sister was the famous Countess of Salisbury of the *honi soit qui mal y pense* legend. At seventeen he was a Prebendary of York; he studied in Paris under the future Pope Benedict XII, and became chaplain to Pope John XXII, who "provided" him in 1327 to the see of Exeter. Grandisson ruled this diocese with great vigour until his death in 1369.

48. EDUCATIONAL REFORM

(13 Feb. 1356-7. *Register*, p. 1192. A mandate directed by Grandisson to all the archdeacons of his diocese.)

WE ourselves have learned and learn daily, not without frequent wonder and inward compassion of mind, that among masters or teachers of boys and illiterate folk in our diocese, who instruct them in Grammar, there prevails a preposterous and unprofitable method and order of teaching, nay, a superstitious fashion, rather heathen than christian; for these masters,—after their scholars have learned to read or repeat, even imperfectly, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, and the Mattins and Hours of the Blessed Virgin, and other such things pertaining to faith and their soul's health, without knowing or understanding how to construe anything of the aforesaid, or decline the words or parse them—then, I say, these masters make them pass on prematurely to learn other advanced [*magistrales*] books of poetry or metre. Whence it cometh to pass that, grown to man's estate, they understand not the things which they daily read or say: moreover (what is more damnable) through lack of understanding they discern not the Catholic Faith. We, therefore, willing to eradicate so horrible and foolish an abuse, already too deep-rooted in our diocese, by all means and methods in our power, do now commit and depute to each of you the duty of warning and enjoining all masters and instructors whatsoever that preside over Grammar Schools within the limits of his arch-

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deaconry, (as, by these letters present, we ourselves strictly command, enjoin, and warn them), that they should not, as hitherto, teach the boys whom they receive as Grammar pupils only to read or learn by heart;¹ but rather that, postponing all else, they should make them construe and understand the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, the Mattins and Hours of the Blessed Virgin, and decline and parse the words therein, before permitting them to pass on to other books. Moreover we proclaim that we purpose to confer clerical orders henceforth on no boys but upon such as may be found to have learnt after this method. . . .

Geoffrey de la Tour-Landry fought in the Hundred Years' War at least as early as 1346 and as late as 1383. He wrote in 1371, for the instruction of his daughters, a book which became the most popular educational treatise of the Middle Ages. This "Book of the Knight of the Tower" was translated into German, and at least twice into English; it had passed through seven editions in the three languages before 1550. After Caxton's edition of 1483 there was none in English until it was reprinted in 1868 by T. Wright for the Early English Text Society, from a MS. of Henry VI's reign. It is from this edition that the following extract is taken.

49. A ROMANCE OF RUTH

(p. 119.)

ANOTHER example I shall tell you of a good lady named Ruth, of whom descended the king David. Holy Scripture praiseth much the same lady, for she loved God truly and she honoured Him. And she honoured and obeyed unto her husband as a good woman at all times, and for the love of her husband she honoured and loved all his friends, and bare them more favour and privity than unto her own friends; whereupon it befel that after, when her husband was dead, his sons that were of another wife, they would have left her nothing, nor lands, heritage, nor meuble;² and she was of a strange country,

¹ Literally, "learn in Latin," *discere literaliter*. *Literae, literalis, literatura*, etc., are frequently applied to Latin exclusively; cf. *Reg. Epp. Peckham*, R.S. vol. III, pp. 813, 816.

² Furniture.

A ROMANCE OF RUTH

and far from her friends. And the woman fell into a great heaviness by the occasion hereof, but the friends of her husband, that loved her for the great goodness and cherishing that they had found in her the time before in her husband's life, they withstood against the sons of her husband. And they were with her in her helping, insomuch that she had all that she ought to have by right and of custom. And in this wise the good woman saved and won her own, for the friendship and good company that she had y-done unto the kin of her husband, and unto his friends, while he was living. And therefore here is a good example how every good woman oweth to worship and to love kin and friends of her husband, for aye the more semblance of love that she showeth unto them, the more wealth she shall have among them.

From MS. Lansdowne, No. 762, written in the reign of Henry V.

50. THE MASTER OF OXFORD'S CATECHISM

(*Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. 1, p. 230.)

Questions between the Master of Oxenford and his Scholar.

THE Clerk's question. Say me where was God when he made heaven and earth? *The Master's answer.* I say, in the further end of the wind. *C.* Tell me what word God first spake? *M.* Be thou made light, and light was made. *C.* What is God? *M.* He is God, that all things made, and all things hath in His power. *C.* In how many days made God all things? *M.* In six days. . . . *C.* Whereof was Adam made? *M.* of viij things: the first of earth, the second of fire, the iijde of wind, the iiijth of clouds, the vth of air wherethrough he speaketh and thinketh, the vjth of dew whereby he sweateth, the vijth of flowers, whereof Adam hath his eyen, the viijth is salt whereof Adam hath salt tears. *C.* Whereof was found the name of Adam? *M.* Of four stars, this be the names, Arcax, Dux, Arostolym, and Momfumbres. *C.* Of what state was Adam when he was made? *M.* A man of xxx winter of age. *C.* And of what length was Adam? *M.* Of iiij. score and vj.

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inches. *C.* How long lived Adam in this world? *M.* ix. c. and xxxty winter, and afterward in hell till the passion of our Lord God. *C.* Of what age was Adam when he begat his first child? *M.* An c. and xxx. winter, and had a son that hight Seth. . . . *C.* What was he that never was born, and was buried in his mother's womb, and since was christened and saved? *M.* That was our father Adam. *C.* How long was Adam in Paradise? *M.* vij. years, and at vij. years' end he trespassed against God for the apple that he ate on a Friday, and an angel drove him out. *C.* How many winters was Adam when our Lord was done on the cross? *M.* That was v. ml. cc. and xxxij. years. *C.* What hight Noes wife? *M.* Dalida; and the wife of Sem, Cateslinna; and the wife of Cam, Laterecta; and the wife of Japheth, Aurca. And other iij. names, Ollia, Olina, and Olybana. *C.* Whereof was made Noes ship? *M.* Of a tree that was cleped¹ Chy. *C.* And what length was Noes ship? *M.* Fifty fathom of breadth, and cc. fathom of length, and xxx. fathom of height. *C.* How many winter was Noes ship in making? *M.* iiij. score years. *C.* How long dured Noes flood? *M.* xl. days and xl. nights. *C.* How many children had Adam and Eve? *M.* xxx. men children and xxx. women children. *C.* What city is there where the sun goeth to rest? *M.* A city that is called Sarica. *C.* What be the best herbs that God loved? *M.* The rose and the lily. *C.* What fowl loved God best? *M.* The dove, for God sent His Spirit from heaven in likeness of a dove. *C.* Which is the best water that ever was? *M.* River Jordan, for God was baptised therein. *C.* Where be the angels that God put out of heaven and became devils? *M.* Some into hell, and some reigned in the sky, and some in the earth, and some in waters and in woods. *C.* How many waters be there? *M.* ij. salt waters, and ij. fresh waters. *C.* Who made first ploughs? *M.* Cam, that was Noes son. *C.* Why beareth not stoncs fruit as trees? *M.* For Cayme slew his brother Abell with the bone of an ass's cheek. *C.* What is the best thing and the worst among men? *M.* Word is best and worst. *C.* Of what thing be men most afraid? *M.* Men be most afraid of death. *C.* What are the iiij. things that men may not live without?

¹ Called.

THE MASTER OF OXFORD'S CATECHISM

[*M.*] Wind, fire, water, and earth. *C.* Where resteth a man's soul, when he shall sleep? *M.* In the brain, or in the blood, or in the heart. *C.* Where lieth Moises' body? *M.* Beside the house that hight Enfegor. *C.* Why is the earth cursed, and the sea blessed? *M.* For Noe and Abraham, and for christening that God commanded. *C.* Who set first vines? *M.* Noe set the first vines. *C.* Who cleped first God? *M.* The devil. *C.* Which is the heaviest thing bearing? *M.* Sin is the heaviest. *C.* Which thing is it that some loveth, and some hateth? *M.* That is judgment. *C.* Which be the iiij things that never was full nor never shall be? *M.* The first is earth, the second is fire, the third is hell, the fourth is a covetous man. *C.* How many manner of birds be there, and how many of fishes? *M.* liiij. of fowls, and xxvj. of fishes. *C.* Which was the first clerk that ever was? *M.* Elias was the first. *C.* What hight the iiij. waters that runneth through paradise? *M.* The one hight Fyson, the other Egeon, the iiijde hight Tygrys, and the iiijth Efraton. These be milk, honey, oil, and wine. *C.* Wherefore is the sun red at even? *M.* For he goeth toward hell. *C.* Who made first cities? *M.* Marcurius the giant. *C.* How many languages be there? *M.* lxij, and so many disciples had God without his apostles.

From MS. Lambeth, No. 306, p. 177 ro, b, of the reign of Edward IV.

51. VARIOUS HEIGHTS OF MEN

(*Ib.* p. 200.)

The longitude of men folowyng.

MOYSES xiiij. fote and viij. ynches and half.

Cryste vj. fote and iiij. ynches.

Our Lady vj. fote and viij. ynches.

Crystoferus xvij. fote and viij. ynches.

Kyng Alysaunder iiij. fote and v. ynches.

Colbronde xvij. fote and ij. ynches and half.

Syr Ey. x. fote iiij. ynches and half.

Seynt Thomas of Caunturbery, vij. fote save a ynche.

Long Mores, a man of Yrelonde borne, and servaunt to
Kyng Edward the iiijth, vj. fote and x. ynches and half.

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52. INSCRIPTIONS IN BOOKS

(The first from MS. Bodleian 132 (thirteenth century); the rest from different MSS. of the fifteenth century, printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. II, p. 163.)

THIS book belongs to St Mary of Robertsbridge; whosoever shall steal it, or sell it, or in any way alienate it from this House, or mutilate it, let him be anathema-maranatha. Amen.

Underneath, in the hand of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter (1327-1369).

I John, Bishop of Exeter, know not where the aforesaid House is, nor did I steal this book, but acquired it in a lawful way.

* * * * *
"This book is one,
And God's curse is another;
They that take the one
God give them the other."

* * * * *
"He that steals this book
Shall be hanged on a hook.
He that this book stealë would
Soon be his heartë cold.
That it may so be
Say *Amen* for charity!"

* * * * *
"Whosoever this book find
I pray him have this in his mind.
For His love that died on tree
Save this book and bring it to me,
William Barbor of New Buckenham."

* * * * *
"An I it lose and you it find
I pray you heartily to be so kind
That you will take a little pain
To see my book brought home again."

* * * * *

INSCRIPTIONS IN BOOKS

(From a MS. temp. Hen. VII (*Rel. Ant.* vol. 1, p. 290).)

If this book of mine be defiled with dirt, the master will smite me in dire wrath upon the hinder parts. . . .

* * * *

This abbey falleth in ruins, Christ mark this well! it raineth within and without: this is a fearful place!

* * * *

Three fingers write, and the whole body is in travail; yet they who know not to write deem it no labour!

53. STUDENT BANDITS IN 1422

(*Rot. Parl.* vol. iv, p. 190 (1 Hen. VI).)

MOREOVER the said Commons pray in this present parliament that, whereas divers manslaughteres, murders, rapes, felonies, robberies, riots, conventicles, and other misdeeds have been committed afresh during these late days in the counties of Oxenford, Berks, Wilts, and Bucks, more frequently than of aforetime, and with impunity, as well by divers persons repairing to the city of Oxenford as by others dwelling in the city itself under the jurisdiction of the University there; some of whom are liege subjects of our lord the King born in Ireland, and the others are no lieges of his but enemies to our lord the King and to his realm, called *Wylde Irisshmen*; and whereas their malices, misdeeds, and robberies continue from day to day, to the great scandal of the said University, which is fountain and mother of our Christian faith, and to the greater damage and destruction of the whole country round; which malefactors and robbers, with their receivers and maintainers, openly threaten the officers and ministers of our said lord King in those parts, so that they dare not make or exercise execution of the law upon them according to their deserts; and they threaten likewise to slay the Bailiffs of the said city, for that they have lately arrested certain of the aforesaid robbers, and have them in

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

prison with their leader, and by reason of the great menaces made on this occasion to the said Bailiffs, they dare not dwell in their own houses for fear of death, but hold themselves at large for the safety of their lives, seeing that the said Bailiffs are not [blank] to come to the said city for gathering and levying the fee-farm thereof in the King's service, nor doing or performing their said offices as they were wont and ought by right to do. . . . May it please you therefore, by assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this present Parliament, for peace and quiet's sake in the realm of England and for the settlement of the land of Ireland, that all Irish should be voided from this kingdom between the feast of Christmas now coming and the feast of Candlemas next ensuing, under pain of losing their goods and being imprisoned at the King's will; save only graduates in the schools, and men holding benefices of Holy Church in England, and such as have their heritage in England, or an English father or mother, and professed Religious, merchants, Burgesses, and other well-reputed inhabitants of cities and boroughs who can find surety for their good behaviour, and women married to Englishmen and Irishmen with English wives, so that they be of good report; and that all such Irishmen as have benefices or offices in the land of Ireland should remain there in their benefices or offices, under pain of losing and forfeiting the profits of the said benefices or offices for the defence of the aforesaid land of Ireland, according to the ordinance made in the first year of King Henry V, father of our King that now is. And that the said Graduates and holders of benefices should find surety for their good behaviour, nor should take upon themselves the principalship of any Hall or Hostel, but dwell among other English scholars under the principalship of others. . . .

Answer. Be it as is desired by the petition.

See *Statutes of the Realm* under this year and also under the 8th Henry VI, where a statute was passed upon complaint of the Commons (*Rot. Parl.* vol. iv, p. 349) to deal with gangs of malefactors who terrorized and blackmailed the town and county of Cambridge, Essex, and elsewhere. There is however in this latter case no specific mention of students.

TALBOT'S DEATH

Mathieu de Cussy, the continuator of Monstrelet's *Chronicle*, was born about 1425 and died about 1480. He is a particularly conscientious writer, and rises here and there to vivid description. The following extract is from chap. LXXI of the edition published by J. A. C. Buchon, first as a supplement to Monstrelet and then independently in 1838.

54. TALBOT'S DEATH

WHEN therefore the men of Bordeaux were assembled in the presence of this Talbot, they showed him how King Charles and his army were already far entered, and had overrun the countries of Guienne and Bordeaux with great puissance of men-at-arms: then they reminded him how that they had given over the said town and city of Bordeaux on condition that he should fight against the King of France and his puissance if he came into the aforesaid country, and they submitted to him how he had said more than once, while they were making the aforesaid treaty of surrender, that he needed but ten thousand fighting men to make head against the French armies. "Wherefore," said they, "If you will keep your promise given when this city made obeisance and subjection to you, now is the hour and time for the accomplishment thereof. We pray you go and raise the siege which the French have laid to the town of Châtillon in Périgord." Talbot, hearing these words, and recognising that they had reason, showed no change of countenance at this complaint, but answered them coolly enough, for he was full of natural good sense and valiant in battle as any knight that bore arms in those days; thus then he said to them: "We may let them come nearer still; yet be sure that, God willing, I will keep my promise when I see due time and opportunity." Upon which answer those of the town of Bordeaux showed a face of discontent, misdoubting that this Talbot had no great intention and will to do what he said; nay, they even began to murmur sore one with the other, which was told to my lord Talbot; whereof he was inwardly troubled, and resolved forthwith to send for all who were dispersed in the garrisons of towns and fortresses that obeyed the English around Bordeaux, and for the garrison of the town of Bordeaux itself. He made

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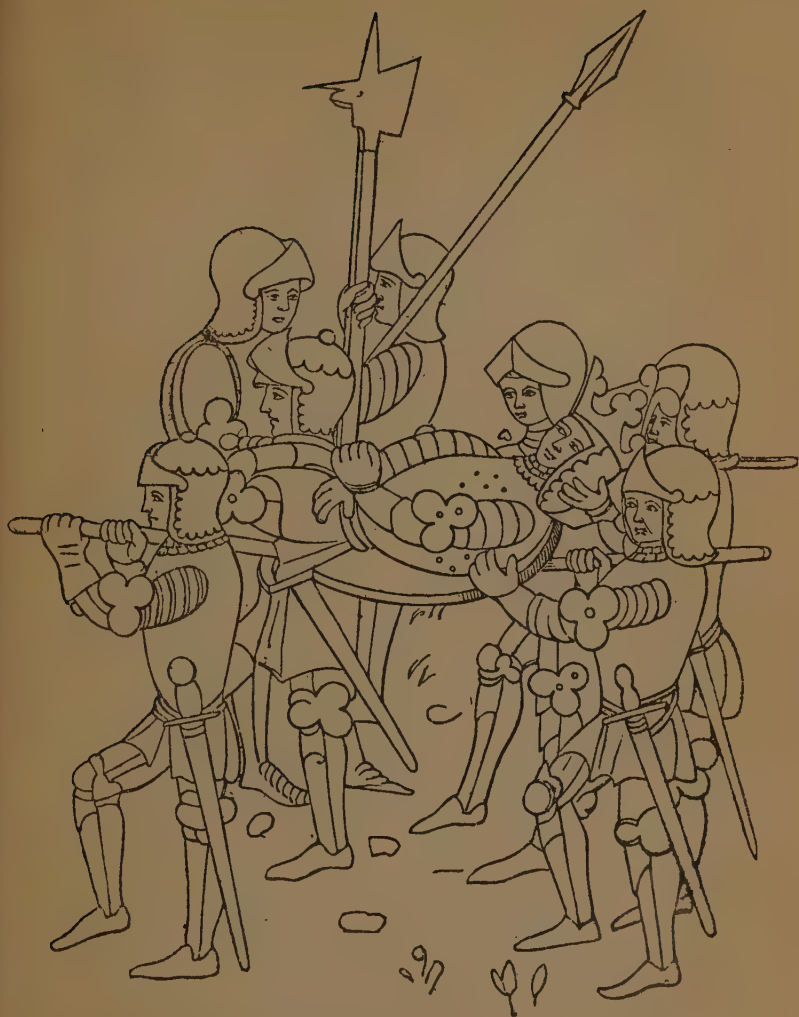
such haste that within a few days he had from eight to ten thousand fighting men gathered together. Then on St Mary Magdalene's Day, which fell on a Monday that year (1453), he set out from the good city of Bordeaux with his company, and lay that same night at a place called Libourne, five leagues distant from Bordeaux and three leagues from the aforesaid town of Châtillon. But to know and better discover the bearing of the French his enemies, who were lodged before this town of Châtillon, he sent his spies secretly around their quarters; moreover he sent word to those who were within the said town that they should take courage, for he came with might and puissance, intending to succour them; and he bade them prepare themselves on the morrow when they should see him approach, that each man might be under arms and ready to sally forth without their walls and fall upon the enemy, for he was purposed, as he told them, never to turn back until he had driven away the beleaguering army or were slain himself in the fight. At which news those of Châtillon were filled with joy, and took good heart again, for it seemed to them that the lord Talbot had great will to succour them, forasmuch as he came so hastily and that the French had as yet only lain two days about the town; wherefore they sent back word that he should come when it pleased him, but they thought it fitting that he should first of all drive out those who were lodged in the abbey hard by their town, and that they, for their part, would come and help him with all their might, in this assault. Which news being thus brought back to him, he started without long delay from his lodging in Libourne and marched all night long until he came to a wood hard by the aforesaid abbey, wherein were lodged the free-archers of the duchies of Anjou and Périgord, who had with them Pierre de Bauval lieutenant to Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, who commanded this guard with the aforesaid Joachim Rohault. Since, therefore, this Talbot had purposed to carry out his enterprise, and the French that lay in the aforesaid abbey had no tidings of his coming, then the Tuesday following at daybreak he drew with all his company towards this abbey, raising a terrible shout, at the sound whereof the French, who were within, fell into rout, and issued forth with

TALBOT'S DEATH

the purpose of gaining the park, whereof we have already spoken and wherein those of their party were lodged; and in this disorder the aforesaid free-archers sallied forth, and Pierre de Bauval and Joachim Rohault stayed behind, bearing the burden of the fight for a long space, making head against the English and withdrawing step by step towards the park. Yet, albeit the French who were therein became aware of the great travail which their own folk must needs undergo that had fled forth from the abbey, nevertheless they advanced not, nor brought no help nor succour to their comrades, by reason whereof in the very first onset five or six nobles were killed on the French part. Moreover the said Joachim, through his own valour, was more than once stricken to the ground; but by the help of the free-archers, who loved him well, he was raised up and remounted on his horse; whereon afterwards he did deeds of great prowess, for he had sworn to his free-archers that he would live and die with them; and, for all that the English might do, yet the French reached the park; but, before they had reached it, there were done great deeds and fair feats of arms on either side, and of the two parties some four-score or hundred men were left on that field. After which the lord Talbot, seeing that the French had gained the park, turned back to the abbey where he lodged, to take refreshment with his men; wherein he found much victual which the French had brought thither, with five or six pipes and barrels of wine, which were forthwith burst open and put at the mercy of all the soldiers, by reason whereof they lasted but a short while; and, seeing that the aforesaid skirmish had been begun and ended so early and that Talbot had as yet heard no mass, his chaplain made ready to sing one, and the altar with its ornaments was ready prepared. In the meanwhile he was of too light credence, for he gave faith to a man who brought him nought but lies, saying as it were in these words: "My lord, the French leave their park and flee away; now is the hour or never, if ye will accomplish your promise." Alas! here is a fair example for all princes, lords, and captains, who have people subjected to their governance, that they should not set too light faith in such tidings; for in so weighty a matter we must not build upon the tale of a jongleur, but

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of true and loyal officers-at-arms, as of a knight or gentleman, sure of his mouth. But my lord Talbot, for the great desire that he had to serve King Henry his sovereign lord, and also to keep his promise made to the aforesaid town and city of Bordeaux, did otherwise at this time; for, believing too lightly that these tidings were true, he left to hear the mass against his first purpose, and, issuing forthwith from this abbey, he was heard to say these words following: "Never shall I hear the mass until this day I shall have put to rout the company of the French whom I see before me in this park." Notwithstanding therefore that the French in the park were sore moved and troubled by the pursuit which my lord Talbot had made upon those who had fled from the abbey, yet they disposed their artillery straight in the vanguard on that side whereon they saw my lord Talbot come with his company, which advanced in excellent fair array with many trumpets and clarions sounding. Then these English uttered a horrible and terrible cry, shouting with all their voices: "Talbot, Talbot, St George!" but, as they drew near to the park, an ancient gentleman of England who had seen and experienced in his life many doughty deeds of war, perceived that the French within the park gave no ground, whereupon, seeing that they were posted in a strong and advantageous place and that the tidings of their pretended flight were false, he said to the lord Talbot: "My lord, my counsel would be that ye should return again, for ye may well see how the tidings brought unto you were untrue. Ye see their camp and their bearing; ye will gain nought at this time." At which words my lord Talbot was sore displeased, and made him a rough answer with exceeding injurious words: nay even, (if it be true that I have heard,) after this speech he struck him with the sword across the visage, of which stroke he died afterwards; but of this I have never learned the right truth. Certain it is, nevertheless, that my lord Talbot followed the counsel of his own great valiance and marched on towards the park, at the entry whereof he caused his standard to be planted upon one of the stakes wherewith the entrance-gate on that side was closed; and the standard-bearer, whose name I could never learn, clasped the stake with the lance of the



THE DYING WARRIOR

From MS. Reg. 13, c. 1x (end of fourteenth century; reproduced in H. Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*).

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banner, at which point and in which posture he was slain, and the standard smitten down to the earth in the ditch of the park. Then the English, by reason of the great number of artillery which the French had within their park and which played upon them with all their might, began to fall into disorder; for at the entrance there, and at the planting of the aforesaid standard, some five or six hundred English were slain, which caused them great fear and rout; seeing which the French opened the gate of their park and sallied forth, not only there but by the other gates, and over the ditches. Then they came valiantly to fight the English hand to hand, where marvellous deeds of arms were done on either side. In this sally the aforesaid lord Talbot, who was armed with a brigantine covered with scarlet velvet, was slain by a dagger-thrust in the throat, for he had already received a stroke across his face, and was sore wounded with arrows through the thighs and the legs; and I have been assured by heralds and officers-at-arms, and by many lords and gentlemen, that at this hour and in that fight 4000 men or more were slain with Talbot, among whom were the son and one of the nephews of the aforesaid lord Talbot, and another whom men called the Bastard of England. The rest, seeing this defeat, withdrew; some within the town of Châtillon, and others fleeing through the woods and through the river, wherein great numbers were drowned. Moreover a good two hundred were taken prisoners. All that day the dead lay exposed on the earth, and the French had much ado to know the truth of the death of the lord Talbot, for some assured that he had been slain, while others said, "No." When therefore all had been somewhat appeased, many officers-at-arms and heralds were sent to seek for the lord Talbot among the dead; in which search they found among the rest a dead man who seemed somewhat advanced in age, and whom they surmised to be this same lord. Wherefore they laid him on an archer's shield and brought him into their park; in which place he lay all night. Meanwhile there was much question, with great difficulty and doubt in the company of the lords and others, who said they had known and seen him in his lifetime, concerning the truth of his death; for, though such as affirmed themselves to have known and

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seen him well maintained that this was he, yet there were many others who said the contrary. But on the morrow there came upon the field many heralds and officers-at-arms of the English party, among whom was the herald of lord Talbot himself, who bare his coat-of-arms; which heralds besought grace to have leave and permission to seek for their master. Then men asked this herald of the lord Talbot whether he would know him well by sight, whereunto he answered joyously (deeming that he was yet alive and captive) that he would fain see him; whereupon he was brought to the place where Talbot lay dead upon the archer's shield, where the men said unto him: "Look and see if this be your master." Then forthwith his colour was changed; yet at first he withheld his judgment, not saying what he thought, for he saw his master much changed and disfigured by the stroke which he had in his face; moreover he had lain there since his death all that night through and all the morrow until that hour; wherefore he was much changed. Yet the herald kneeled down beside him, saying that he would presently know the truth. Then he thrust one of the fingers of his right hand into his lord's mouth, to seek on the left-hand side the place of a great tooth which he knew him certainly to have lost, which place he found, as his purpose was; and no sooner had he found it than, being on his knees as we have said, he kissed the dead man on the mouth, saying: "My lord and master, my lord and master, it is you! I pray to God that He pardon your misdeeds. I have been your officer-at-arms these forty years or more, and it is time that I render you all your loving-kindness!" making in the meanwhile piteous cries and lamentations, and raining piteously with salt tears from his eyes. Then he drew off his coat-of-arms and laid it on his master: by which recognition there was an end of the question and debate which had been made concerning the good lord's death.

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Johann Busch was born at Zwolle in 1399. He showed brilliant scholarship as a boy; but as a youth he chose to join the same congregation of Austin Canons to which his contemporary Thomas à Kempis belonged. In 1440 he became Subprior of Wittenberg, and began his long and arduous career as reformer of monasteries under a commission from the Pope and the Council of Bâle. In this work he attained more success than any of his contemporaries except the distinguished Cardinal Nicolaus von Cusa. His chief writings were (i) a charming chronicle of the monastery of Windesheim, and (ii) the *Liber de Reformatione Monasteriorum*, a minute and often very humorous record of his life's work. The edition here used is that of K. Grube (Halle, 1887). A translation of it was begun, but never completed, in the *British Magazine* for April, 1841, etc.; and the reader may there find some strange things for which there is no place here. Miss Eckenstein's account of these visitations in her *Woman under Monasticism* is quite worthless; she takes it at second-hand from a not always trustworthy monograph by Karl Grube. See Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 670 ff.

55. BOOK-KEEPING BY DOUBLE ENTRY

Lib. Ref. Bk. iv, ch. 3, p. 730. The summary of this in Grube's monograph, p. 163 is very incorrect.)

A CERTAIN Lector¹ of the Dominicans had publicly preached in the town of Zutphen, that layfolk should have no books in the German tongue, and that no sermons should be preached to the people save only in the church or churchyard. When therefore I heard this (for I was then a simple Brother at Windesheim, and had been sent with Brother Dietrich Willemzoon to conclude certain business of our monastery in Zutphen) then, knowing that there were more than a hundred congregations of Sisters and Béguines in the diocese of Utrecht which possessed several books in the mother tongue, which the Sisters read daily either by themselves or publicly in refectory, I stoutly gainsaid this friar, seeing that they read and hear German books of this sort in Zutphen, Deventer, Zwolle, Kampen, and everywhere in the cities and country districts [of the Netherlands]. Wherefore I went to the Dominican convent and asked for the Prior, to whom I said: "My lord Prior, I have heard that your

¹ "Reader," or Lecturer in a friary.

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Lector hath publicly preached that layfolk ought not to have books in the German tongue. Herein he hath preached ill, and he must publicly revoke it: for the princes of the land, the common people, men and women throughout the whole world have many books written in the vulgar German tongue, wherein they read and study. Moreover ye and your Brethren preach oftentimes to the people in the vulgar tongue; would ye wish also that they might remember your sermons by heart?" "Yea," said he. Then I made answer, "If they had them in writing, then they would certainly keep them better in their memory; wherefore then should they not have books in German?" He answered, "The layfolk have many books in German, namely books of Sentences and suchlike, which a certain Doctor of our Order hath translated into German; and others have a missal, with the Canon of the Mass, in the vulgar tongue; therefore it is not good that they should have and read books in German." To whom I made answer, "I do not indeed approve that plain laymen and lay-women should have in German such lofty and divine books as that; nay, I myself burned a Canon of the Mass in German which was found in the possession of some nuns. Yet is it most profitable for all men, learned or unlearned, to possess and daily to read moral books treating of the vices and the virtues, of the Lord's incarnation, life, and passion, of the life and holy conversation and martyrdom of apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, together with homilies and sermons of holy men provoking to amendment of life, moral discipline, fear of hell-fire, and love of the celestial country. If ye will not allow such books, then will I show you in writing the sayings of such Doctors of Holy Church as Austin, Gregory, Ambrose and Jerome, and other orthodox writers, to the effect that it is lawful and most profitable to have such books." Then said he, "If ye produce the written words of Doctors, we too will produce the contrary sayings of [other] Doctors." Then said I more plainly: "My lord Prior, your Lector must revoke publicly from the pulpit that which he hath publicly preached to the people against possessing books in the German tongue; otherwise I will so order things with the lord David bishop of Utrecht, and with his High Chapter, that neither you nor

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your Lector shall preach again in this diocese." Then said the Prior: "You seem to have a commission to this effect from the Bishop of Utrecht. Be at peace; I will see to it that our Lector shall revoke this." And when I would have gone of mine own authority to the Lector, who was lying on his bed, then said the Prior, "He is a most learned man." To whom I made answer, "I am all the more willing to speak with him since he is learned, for then he will the better understand his own error." Notwithstanding I desisted at the petition of the Prior and the Brother who was with me, and went not to the sick man; more especially because his Prior had promised me that he should revoke those words.

Another day as I journeyed by boat on the Yssel from Deventer to Zutphen, I questioned the men and women that voyaged with me, asking what the Preachers are wont to preach at Zutphen. Whereunto they made answer, "Our Lector formerly preached that layfolk should have no German books. This he hath revoked in brief, saying, 'Good folk, when I preach the gospel to you here, ye repeat it all awry to other men. I spake to you the other day in my sermon concerning German books, that the laity should not possess them, whereby I meant this: Certain women, or even men, sometimes lay certain writings in the German tongue under the altar-cloths, that a mass may be read over them; after which they take these same writings away and work therewith many incantations and divinations or auguries. Those were the writings that I forbade you to have and read; but ye may well and lawfully possess good and moral books in the German tongue, and read therein.'" And they who were in the boat added and said how they had marvelled greatly that he should so revoke his own words, not knowing who had compelled him thereunto. I for my part was well pleased to hear of this his revocation, for in that same town were two houses of Sisters that always read when they sat at meals by the table in the refectory.

On pp. 724, 729, 732, 733, the reader may find other instances of influential preachers who taught publicly similar falsehoods: *e.g.* "that all Béguines were in a state of damnation"; "that whensoever a mass is celebrated throughout the world, so often one soul is freed from the pains

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of purgatory"; "that is not usury to lend a man a meadow worth five florins a year by way of indemnity, until you have paid the hundred florins you owe him"; "that Caiaphas is in heaven." Busch first confuted these errors by quotation and logic, meeting No. 2 by the pertinent retort, "If that were true, then there could not be a soul left now in purgatory; seeing that more masses are daily sung in the whole world than the number of Christian men who die every day; wherefore it is in vain that masses are daily sung for the dead, since there is not a soul left there!" After which he roundly declared to the preachers, convinced or unconvinced, that they must publicly revoke forthwith or never preach again within his archdeaconry of Halle (for such authority he now had *ex officio* as Provost of Neuwerk); and he describes with much humour how three of them contrived to save their face under these trying circumstances. After which he gives the other side of the medal, p. 733.

Götz von Berlichingen "of the Iron Hand," born in 1480 of a knightly family in Württemberg, may be called the last of the robber-knights of the Middle Ages. For the first half of his life he played the part of a William of Deloraine with varying fortunes: from 1541 onwards he fought under Charles V in greater wars, first against the Turks (1541) and then against the French (1544). He died in his own castle of Hornberg (1562), leaving an autobiography on which Goethe founded his first play, and from which much of Sir Walter Scott's romantic spirit was indirectly derived. His descendants still flourish in two separate lines.

56. A PAGE'S QUARREL

(A.D. 1497, Götz aged 17.)

I WAS brought up as a page in the house of the Markgraf [of Ansbach]; on whom, in company with other pages, I must needs wait at table. Now it befel upon a time that I sat at meat beside a Pole, who had waxed his hair with eggs: and by chance I was wearing a long coat of outlandish fashion, which my lord Veit von Lentersheim had let make for me in Namur: so that, when I sprang up from my place beside the aforementioned Pole, I ruffled his fine hair with my skirt; and I was aware, even as I sprang up, that he thrust at me with a bread-knife, but missed me. Whereat I waxed wroth, and not without cause: so that, whereas I had both a long and a short blade by my side, yet I drew but the short one, and smote him therewith about the pate: notwithstanding I continued

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to wait on my wonted service, and stayed that night in the castle. In the morning betimes, the Markgraf went to hear mass at the parish church, as indeed he was a godfearing prince; after which, when we came back to the castle from the church, I found the gates shut behind me, and the Provost-Marshal came up and told me that I must yield myself prisoner. Then I bade him let me alone, for this might not be, and I must needs first get speech of the young Princes; and truly I gave him few gentle words for his pains. But the good man was wiser than I, and let me go; for, had he laid hands on me, I had surely defended myself; and fallen into an evil case. Then I went upstairs to the Princes, and told them of all that had befallen with the Provost-Marshal and this Pole: they were then about to go to table for their morning meal, wherefore they bade me stay where I was; and, if any came, that I should go into their chamber and hide myself in the inner room and lock the door from within. I did as they bade me, and waited till the Princes came back from table and reported how they had spoken on my behalf to the lord their father, and the royal lady their mother,¹ and besought them to save me from punishment in the matter of this Pole: but all their words had naught availed, and the old Markgraf might in no wise find peace with his lady, nor the Princes grace in the eyes of their mother, but she must first have assurance that her lord would cause me to be cast into the tower. Yet the two young Princes bade me in no wise resist, for they would not leave me there longer than one quarter of an hour. But I answered: "Wherefore should I to the tower, since the first offence was of the Pole's giving?" Yet they assured me over again that they would not suffer me to lie there but only for the space of a quarter of an hour: whereupon I let myself be persuaded, and was locked in of my own free will. Prince George would have given me a velvet cloak furred with marten and sable skins, to cover me withal: but I asked What should I with this? for in lying down with it, I might as well chance upon a foul spot as upon a clean; and seeing that my durance was like to be so short, I had no need of the cloak, but would go quietly without it to the tower. The Princes kept

¹ The Markgräfin was daughter to King Casimir IV of Poland.

A PAGE'S QUARREL

their word, for I lay but a bare quarter of an hour in that tower; then came my brave captain, Herr Paul v. Absberg, and set me free again, bidding me tell him again the cause of the whole matter. Then this honest knight brought me before the Council, and spake in my behalf, and excused me: moreover, all the squires and noble pages who were at that time at the Markgraf's court, to the number of fifty or sixty, stood by me: and Herr Paul v. Absberg pleaded vehemently that the Pole also should be locked into the tower: yet here he might not prevail.

57. AN ANCIENT FEUD

(A.D. 1502.)

SHORTLY after the Nürnberg fight, (which was fought, as aforesaid, on the Sunday after St Vitus' day), about the time of Michaelmas, it chanced that I was riding down the Sodenberg with Neidhart von Thüngen, on whom I had waited in former times. We were aware, as we went, of two horsemen near a wood, close by the village of Obereschbach. This was Endriss von Gemünd, Bailiff of Saaleck, with his squire, nicknamed the Ape.—Now you must know that before this, when first I came into Herr Neidhart's service, there had been a meeting at Hammelburg, whereat my cousin Count Wilhelm von Henneberg and Count Michael von Wertheim were present, and where the quarrel of the aforesaid Michael von Wertheim with an enemy of his was judged and appeased. One day, then, when I would have joined Herr Neidhart and his troopers in their hostel, who indeed were mostly drunken, there among others I met this aforesaid Ape, and he was very heavy with drink and had much wind in his nose,¹ and spake strange words. "What brings this squireling hither?" quoth he; "is he also to be one of us?" and suchlike scornful words, wherewith he thought to provoke me to wrath. This angered me, and I answered him "What care I for thy scornful speeches and thy drunkenness? If we meet

¹ Cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, A 4151, and H 61.

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one day in the field, then will we see who of us twain is squire, and who is trooper."—Now therefore, as we rode down the Sodenberg, I thought within myself, "That is the Ape with his master!" wherefore, galloping forthwith up a high hill, spanning my arblast as I went, I rode far across towards him. His master rode towards the village, to raise the peasants against me, as I supposed. The Ape also had a crossbow: but he fled like his master. Now, as I pressed hard after him, he must needs pass through a deep sunken way towards the village: and I had still far to go to the corner whereat this way led in [to the village]. So I let him ride into the sunken way, and shot after him as he fled. I would now have spanned my arblast again forthwith, since he too had a bolt ready in his own: but I thought that he would not abide me; wherefore I heeded not to span again, but spurred after him into the hollow way. When therefore he had marked how I had not spanned, he waited at the gate until I was hard upon him: then he let fly his bolt and struck me on the boss of my breast-plate, so that the shaft splintered and flew over my head. Suddenly I threw my arblast at his head, for I had no bolt in it; then I plucked forth my sword and ran him to the earth, so that his nag's nose lay on the ground. But he rose to his feet again; ever and again he cried unto the peasants, that they should come to his rescue. When therefore I rode into the village after him, I was aware of a peasant who had already laid a bolt in his bow; upon whom I sprang, and smote his bolt to the ground ere he could come to shoot. Then I reined up at his side, sheathed my sword, and gave him to know that I was Herr Neidhart von Thüngen's man, and that we were both good friends of the Abbot of Fulda. Meanwhile there came round me a whole rout of peasants, some with boarspears, some with hand-axes or casting-axes or wood-axes, and some with stones. Here then was nought to be won save by hard blows and good adventure: for all this while the axes and stones buzzed so thick round my head, that methought my helmet was a-humming with bees. Then there ran up a peasant with a boarspear, at whom I spurred my horse: but, he, even as I drew my sword, thrust forward and dealt me so shrewd a blow on the arm, that methought he had smitten

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it in two. When again I would have thrust at him, he slid under my horse's belly, and I had not room to bend down after him. Then, however, I brake through the rout; and upon another peasant, who bore a wood-axe, upon him I dealt such a blow that he reeled sideways against the palisade. But now my horse would gallop no more, for I had overridden him: and I doubted sore how I should come forth from that gate again. Yet I made such haste as I might, for one fellow was on the point to close it: but I was beforehand with him and came safely through. Yet there stood that same Ape again, with four peasants by his side, and a bolt in his arblast, crying: "Upon him! upon him! upon him!" and shot after me, that I saw the bolt quiver in the earth. So I rode at him, and drove all five back into the village. Then the peasants raised their hue and cry after me; but I rode off with such speed as I might. As I came again to Herr Niedhart, who awaited me far away on the field, the peasants looked out after us, but none was so hardy as to come near us. Yet, even as I joined Herr Neidhart, there came a peasant running with his plough to the sound of the alarm-bell: him I took for my prisoner, and caused him to promise and swear that he would bring me out again my arblast, which I had thrown at the Ape when he shot at me: for I lacked time to pick it up again, but must needs leave it lying on the road.

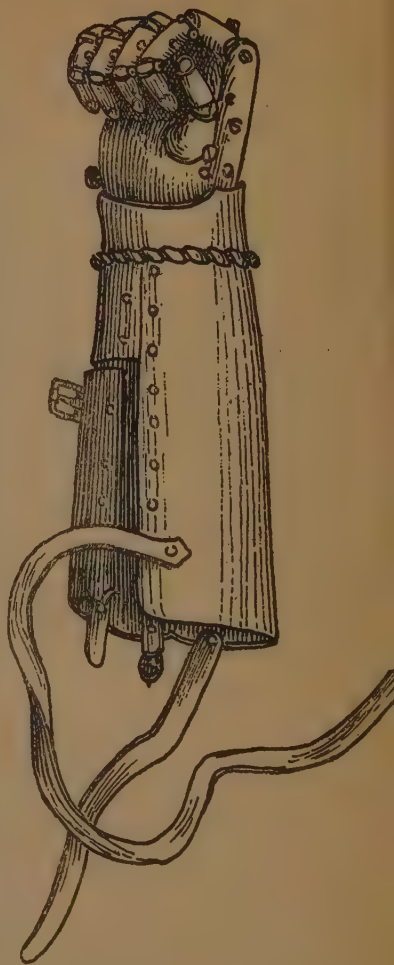
58. THE IRON HAND

(A.D. 1504.)

I WILL now tell how I came by my wound. You must know that on Sunday, as I have related above, while we were skirmishing again under the walls of Landshut, the Nürnbergers turned their cannon upon friend and foe alike. The enemy had taken up a strong position on a dyke, and I would fain have broken a spear with one of them. But as I held myself still and watched for an occasion, suddenly the Nürnbergers turned their cannon upon us; and one of them, with a field-culverin, shot in two my swordhilt, so that the one

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half entered right into my arm, and three armplates therewithal; the sword-hilt lay so deep in the armplates that it could not be seen. I marvel even now that I was not thrown from my horse; the armplates were still whole; only the corners, which had been bent by the blow, stood forth a little. The other half of the sword-hilt and the blade were bent, but not severed; and these, I believe, tore off my hand betwixt the gauntlet and the arm-piece: my arm was shattered behind and before. When I marked now that my hand hung loose by the skin, and that my spear lay under my horse's feet, I made as though nothing had befallen me, turned my horse softly round, and, in spite of all, came back to my own folk without let or hindrance from the enemy. Just then there came up an old spearman, who would have ridden into the thick of the fray: him I called to me, and besought that he would stay at my side, since he must see how matters stood with me. So he tarried with me at my prayer, and then he must needs fetch me the leech. When I came to Landshut, my old comrades told me who had fought in



GÖTZ'S IRON HAND

From an engraving of the original still preserved by his descendant, Freiherr v. Berlichingen-Rossach.

THE IRON HAND

the battle against me, and in what wise I had been shot, and that a nobleman, Fabian von Wallsdorf, a Voigtländer, had been struck and slain by the same shot, notwithstanding that it had struck me first; so that in this wise both friend and foe took harm alike. This nobleman was a fair and goodly gentleman, such that among many thousands you would scarce find any goodlier to behold. . . .

From that time forth, from the Sunday after St Vitus' day until Ash Wednesday, I lay in Landshut; and what pain at that time I suffered, each may well imagine for himself. It was my prayer to God that, if I stood indeed in His divine grace, then in His own name He might bear me away to Himself, since I was spoiled now for a fighting-man. Yet then I bethought me of a man at arms of whom I had heard my father and other old troopers tell, whose name was Köchli, and who also had but one hand, notwithstanding which he could do his devoir against his foe in the field as well as any other man. Then I prayed to God, and considered within myself that, had I even twelve hands, and His grace and help stood not by me, then were all in vain. Therefore, thought I, might I but get me some little help by means of an iron hand, then I would prove myself as doughty in the field, in spite of all, as any other maimed man. I have ridden since then with Köchli's sons, who were trusty horsemen and well renowned. And in all truth I can think and say nought else,—now that for wellnigh sixty years I have waged wars, feuds, and quarrels with but one fist,—but that God Almighty, Everlasting and Merciful, hath stood wondrously and most graciously by me and at my side in all my wars, feuds, and perils.

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In 1536, the inhabitants of Bourges performed in their old Roman amphitheatre a "Mystery of the Holy Acts of the Apostles" which was perhaps the most elaborate ever recorded. It lasted forty days, and it was so admirably acted (as a contemporary historian assures us) "that the greater part of the spectators judged it to be real and not feigned." The performance began by a procession of the 494 performers from the Abbey of St Sulpice to the arena, in costumes which modern pageant-masters can only envy at a distance. "A demoniac, clad in green satin brocaded with golden apples, was led on a gilt chain by his father in yellow satin. A blind man and his varlet were in red and grey satin. A paralytic had a shirt of orange satin. The blind men, 'rascals,' and other beggars were clad in silk. . . . After the Apostles came, 'in habit of humility, 62 [*sic*, ? 72] disciples clad in robes of velvet, crimson satin, damask and taffeta, made in strange and divers fashions, some with embroidery and others with bands of ribbon or silk, all after the ancient fashion.' . . . 'After all this devilry came a Hell fourteen feet long by eight feet broad in fashion of a rock crowned with a tower ever burning and belching flames, wherein Lucifer's head and body alone appeared . . . vomiting flames of fire unceasingly, and holding in his hands certain kinds of serpents or vipers which writhed and belched fire.' . . . 'At the end of the procession came a Paradise eight feet broad by twelve feet long.'"

Baron de Girardot printed in t. XIII of Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, pp. 16 ff., a manuscript which contained a list of the "properties" required for this performance. Everything was as realistic as possible: the flaying of St Bartholomew was made visible by a "nudity, or carnation" which he wore under his apparent skin; the beheading of Simon Magus was managed by the sudden substitution of a live sheep, which supplied the necessary blood; to out-devil the devil, "we must have a pair of spectacles for Satan." The following extract gives the properties required for the Virgin Mary's death, funeral, and assumption; see the whole description in the *Golden Legend* (Temple Classics, vol. IV, p. 234), or in Myrc's *Festial*. The accompanying illustration, representing the miraculous severance of Belzeray's hands, is from a series representing the same history, carved round the outside of Notre Dame de Paris from the north transept to the apse.

59. BEHIND THE SCENES AT A MIRACLE PLAY

WE must have a palm sent from Paradise for Gabriel to bring to Mary. There must be a thunder-clap in Paradise; and then we need a white cloud to come fetch and ravish St John preaching at Ephesus, and to bring him before the door of the Virgin Mary's abode. We must have another cloud to catch up all the Apostles from their divers countries and bring them

BEHIND THE SCENES AT A MIRACLE PLAY

all before the aforesaid house. We must have a white robe for the Virgin Mary to die in. We must have a little truckle-bed, and several torches of white wax which the virgins will hold at the said Lady's death. Jesus Christ must come down from Paradise to the death of the Virgin Mary, accompanied by a great multitude of angels, and take away her soul with Him.



A MIRACLE OF OUR LADY

At the moment when He cometh into the said Virgin's chamber, we must make great fragrance of divers odours. We must have the holy soul ready.¹ We must have a crown encircled with twelve stars to crown the aforesaid soul in Paradise. We must have a bier to bear the said Lady's body

¹ Probably in the shape of a little naked child issuing from the dying person's mouth, according to the usual medieval convention.

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to the tomb. We must have a tomb. There must be sent down from Paradise to the tomb aforesaid a round cloud shaped like a crown, wherein are several holy angels with naked swords and javelins in their hands; and, if it may be, we must have these living, that they may sing. Belzeray, prince of the Jews, and others set off to go and prevent lest the body of the said Lady be laid in the tomb. The Jews strive to lay hands on the Virgin Mary's body to tear her from the Apostles; and forthwith their hands are withered and they are blinded with fire thrown by the angels. Belzeray laying hands on the litter whereon the Virgin Mary is borne, his hands remain fixed to the said litter, and much fire is cast down like unto thunderbolts, and the Jews must fall blinded to the earth. Belzeray's hands must be severed and joined again to his arms; then he is given a palm which he beareth to the rest, and whereby such as would believe were enlightened; then he brought back the said palm. We need a tomb wherein to lay the said Lady's body. Such as would not be converted are tormented by devils; some must be borne to hell. God purposeth to send to our Lady's tomb, to raise her and bring her up to Paradise, body and soul. St Michael should present the soul to Jesus Christ. This done, they come down accompanied by all the orders of angels in Paradise; and so soon as Jesus Christ is come to the tomb, a great light must be made, whereat the Apostles are amazed. Gabriel must raise the tombstone and the soul laid therein, so that it be no more seen. The soul is reunited to the body, and Mary riseth having her face clearer than the sun: then she must humble herself before Jesus Christ. Jesus, Mary, and all the angels must mount up; and in mounting they must stay awhile here and there, even as the Orders shall speak. Mary, for the doubt that St Thomas had, casteth him her girdle. A cloud must cover the Apostles: then let each depart underground and go unto his own region.

THE SAME

In the York miracle plays, the obnoxious Jew was named not Belzeray, but Fergus, probably in the same anti-Scottish spirit which prompted the contemporary author of the Wakefield plays to name the sheep-stealing shepherd Mac. The York Memorandum Book has a very interesting entry under the year 1420 (ed. Maud Sellers, Surtees Soc. vol. CXXV, p. 124). The goldsmiths of York complained that they were no longer able to meet the expense of acting two miracle plays yearly, while other crafts did only one each.

A representation of the Fergus scene, much damaged, is in Eton College Chapel, executed between 1479 and 1488, with a scroll referring to Vincent [of Beauvais], lib. vi, cap. 78.—Willis and Clark, *Archit. Hist. Univ. Camb.* I, pp. 412 and 599.

60. THE SAME

MEANWHILE, on the other hand, seeing that the masons of this city murmured among themselves concerning their pageant in the Corpus Christi play, wherein Fergus was scourged, for the reason that the matter of that pageant is not contained in Holy Scripture, and that it caused rather laughter and clamour than devotion, so that strife and contentions and fights sometimes arose thence on the people's part; seeing also that they could seldom or never produce and play the said pageant in full daylight, as the preceding pageants do, therefore the said masons desired with great desire to be exonerated from this their pageant, and to be assigned to some other pageant which may be in conformity with Holy Scripture, and which they will be able to produce and play by daylight. . . . The mayor, aldermen and council decided. . . . that the masons should be exonerated and quit of the Fergus pageant, and that they should take for themselves and their craft the pageant of Herod, which the goldsmiths formerly had, to be produced and played at their own expense in the play of Corpus Christi, in the most honourable fashion that befits them, to the praise of the city, as often as the said play is played in the city aforesaid.

The documents quoted by Lucy Toulmin Smith (*York Mystery Plays*, Oxford, 1885, pp. xxviii ff.) show that in 1476 the linen-weavers were undertaking this play of Fergus; in 1485 it was again "laid apart"; in 1517, its revival was contemplated, if not carried out. The plot of the Fergus pageant is given in a single sentence in a Latin *Order of Pageants for the Play of Corpus Christi*, dated 1415: "Four apostles carrying Mary's bier, and Fergus hanging on the bier, with two other Jews [*in later hand*, and an angel]."

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More's English Works (as Principal Lindsay writes on p. 17 of the third volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*) "deserve more consideration than they usually receive." Yet he vouchsafes them no further consideration; and later on Mr Routh mentions one of them only to disparage it (p. 80). Since they are practically inaccessible to the general reader (for the folio costs from £25 to £50 according to its condition) I give in these volumes some stories which show him at his best as a raconteur, and of which no. 61 in vol. IV is doubly interesting for the use that Shakespeare made of it. In the *Dialogue* More is arguing in his own person against a disputant of quasi-heretical leanings, generally alluded to as the *Messenger* or *your Friend*. The following extract, from *Dialogue* (bk III, chap. xvi), should be studied by all who have read those portions of *The Eve of the Reformation* in which Abbot Gasquet, after making free quotations from this chapter of More's, asserts: "This absolute denial of any attitude of hostility on the part of the Church to the translated Bible is reiterated in many parts of Sir Thomas More's English works.... It has been already pointed out how Sir Thomas More completely disposed of this assertion as to the hostility of the Clergy to the open Bible" (pp. 243, 246). The extract will, I cannot help thinking, bring fresh light even to readers of Dr Gairdner's *Lollardy and the Reformation*. It must be remembered that More's view (like Busch's already quoted in Extract 55) represents that of the most liberal and enlightened party among the orthodox.

61. THE HALF-CLOSED BIBLE

(p. 240.)

"SIR," quoth your Friend [the messenger], "yet for all this can I see no cause why the clergy should keep the Bible out of laymen's hands that can no more but their mother-tongue." "I had weened," quoth I, "that I had proved you plainly that they keep it not from them; for I have showed you that they keep none from them, but such translation as be either not yet approved for good or such as be already re-proved for naught, as Wycliffe's was and Tyndale's; for as for other old ones that were before Wycliffe's days, [they] remain lawful, and be in some folk's hands had and read." "Ye say well," quoth he, "but yet, as women say, somewhat it was alway that the cat winked when her eye was out. Surely it is not for naught that the English Bible is in so few men's hands when so many would so fain have it." "That is very truth," quoth I, "for I think that, though the favourers of

THE HALF-CLOSED BIBLE

a sect of heretics be so fervent in the setting forth of their sect, that they let not to lay their money together and make a purse among them for the printing of an evil-made, or evil-translated book (which though it hap to be forbidden and burned, yet some be sold ere they be spied, and each of them lose but their part) yet I think there will no printer lightly be so hot to put any Bible in print at his own charge, whereof the loss should lie whole in his own neck, and then hang upon a doubtful trial, whether the first copy of his translation was made before Wycliffe's days or since. For, if it were made since, it must be approved before the printing. And surely how it hath happed that in all this while God hath either not suffered, or not provided, that any good virtuous man hath had the mind in faithful wise to translate it, and thereupon either the clergy, or at the leastwise some one bishop, to approve it, this can I nothing tell. . . ." "I am sure," quoth your Friend, "ye doubt not but that I am full and whole of your mind in this matter, that the Bible should be in our English tongue. But yet that the clergy is of the contrary, and would not have it so, that appeareth well, in that they suffer it not to be so. And, over that I hear, in every place almost where I find any learned man of them, their minds [are] all set thereon to keep the scripture from us; and they seek out for that part every rotten reason that they can find, and set them forth solemnly to the shew, though five of those reasons be not worth a fig. For they begin as far as our first father Adam, and shew us that his wife and he fell out of Paradise with desire of knowledge and cunning. Now if this would serve, it must from the knowledge and study of scripture drive every man, priest and other, lest it drive all out of Paradise. Then say they that God taught His disciples many things apart, because the people should not hear it, and therefore they would the people should not now be suffered to read all. Yet they say further that it is hard to translate the scripture out of one tongue into another, and specially, they say, into ours, which they call a tongue vulgar and barbarous. But of all things specially they say that scripture is the food of the soul, and that the common people be as infants that must be fed but with milk and pap; and if we have any stronger meat it

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must be champed afore by the nurse, and so put into the babe's mouth. But methinks, though they make us all infants, they shall find many a shrewd brain among us that can perceive chalk from cheese well enough, and if they would once take us our meat in our own hand we be not so evil toothed but that within a while they shall see us champ it ourselves as well as they. For let them call us young babes an they will, yet by God they shall, for all that, well find in some of us that an old knave is no child." "Surely," quoth I, "such things as ye speak is the thing that, as I somewhat said before, putteth good folk in fear to suffer the scripture in our English tongue; not for the reading and receiving, but for the busy champing thereof, and for much meddling with such parts thereof as least will agree with their capacities. . . . Finally methinketh that the Constitution Provincial,¹ of which we spake right now, hath determined this question already; for when the clergy therein agreed that the English Bibles should remain which were translated before Wycliffe's days, they consequently did agree that to have the Bible in English was none hurt. And in that they forbade any new translation to be read till it were approved by the bishops, it appeareth well thereby that their intent was that the bishop should approve it if he found it faultless, and also of reason amend it where it were faulty; but if [*i.e.* unless] the man were an heretic that made it, or the faults such and so many as it were more easy to make it all new than mend it, as it happed for both points in the translation of Tyndale. Now, if so be that it would haply be thought not a thing meetly to be adventured to set all on a flush at once, and dash rashly out Holy Scripture in every lewd fellow's teeth, yet thinketh me there might such a moderation be taken therein, as neither good virtuous lay folk should lack it, nor rude and rash brains abuse it. For it might be with diligence well and truly translated by some good catholic and well-learned man, or by divers dividing the labour among them, and after conferring their several parties together each with other. And after that might the work be allowed

¹ Abp Arundel's constitution of 1408, forbidding as heretical all unauthorized translations or portions of the Bible, but making no provision for any authorized translation.

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and approved by the Ordinaries, and by their authorities so put into print, as all the copies should come whole unto the bishop's hand; which he may after his discretion and wisdom deliver to such as he perceiveth honest, sad, and virtuous, with a good monition and fatherly counsel to use it reverently with humble heart and lowly mind, rather seeking therein occasion of devotion than of despicion; and providing as much as may be, that the book be after the decease of the party brought again and reverently restored unto the Ordinary; so that, as near as may be devised, no man have it but of the Ordinary's hand, and by him thought and reputed for such as shall be likely to use it to God's honour and merit of his own soul. Among whom if any be proved after to have abused it, then the use thereof to be forbidden him, either for ever or till he be waxen wiser. . . . We find also among the Jews, though all their whole Bible was written in their vulgar tongue, and those books thereof wherein their laws were written were usual in every man's hands, as things that God would have commonly known, repeated, and kept in remembrance; yet were there again certain parts thereof which the common people of the Jews of old time, both of reverence and for the difficulty, did forbear to meddle with. But now, sith the veil of the temple is broken asunder that divided among the Jews the people from the sight of the secrets, and that God had sent His Holy Spirit to be assistant with His whole church to teach all necessary truth, though it may therefore be the better suffered that no part of Holy Scripture were kept out of honest laymen's hands, yet would I that no part thereof should come in theirs which to their own harm (and haply their neighbour's too) would handle it over-homely, and be too bold and busy therewith. And also though Holy Scripture be, as ye said whilere, a medicine for him that is sick and food for him that is whole, yet (sith there is many a body sore soul-sick that taketh himself for whole, and in Holy Scripture is an whole feast of so much divers viand, that, after the affection and state of sundry stomachs, one may take harm by the selfsame that shall do another good, and sick folk often have such a corrupt tallage in their taste that they most like the meat that is most unwholesome for them,) it were not therefore, as methinketh,

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unreasonable that the Ordinary, whom God hath in the diocese appointed for the chief physician, to discern between the whole and the sick and between disease and disease, should after his wisdom and discretion appoint everybody their part as he should perceive to be good and wholesome for them. And therefore, as he should not fail to find many a man to whom he might commit all the whole, so (to say the truth) I can see none harm therein, though he should commit unto some man the gospel of Matthew, Mark, or Luke, whom he should yet forbid the gospel of St John, and suffer some to read the Acts of the Apostles, whom he would not suffer to meddle with the Apocalypse. Many were there, I think, that should take much profit by St Paul's Epistle *ad Ephesios*, wherein he giveth good counsel to every kind of people, and yet should find little fruit for their understanding in his Epistle *ad Romanos*, containing such high difficulties as very few learned men can very well attain. And in like wise would it be in divers other parts of the Bible, as well in the Old Testament as the New; so that, as I say, though the bishop might unto some layman betake and commit with good advice and instruction the whole Bible to read, yet might he to some man well and with reason restrain the reading of some part, and from some busybody the meddling with any part at all, more than he shall hear in sermons set out and declared unto him, and in like wise to take the Bible away from such folk again, as be proved by their blind presumption to abuse the occasion of their profit unto their own hurt and harm. And thus may the bishop order the scripture in our hands, with as good reason as the father doth by his discretion appoint which of his children may for his sadness keep a knife to cut his meat, and which shall for his wantonness have his knife taken from him for cutting of his fingers. And thus am I bold, without prejudice of other men's judgment, to show you my mind in this matter, how the Scripture might without great peril and not without great profit be brought into our tongue and taken to laymen and women both, not yet meaning thereby but that the whole Bible might for my mind be suffered to be spread abroad in English; but, if that were so much doubted that perchance all might thereby be letted, then would I

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rather have used such moderation as I speak of, or some such other as wiser men can better devise. Howbeit, upon that I read late in the Epistle that the King's Highness translated into English of his own, which His Grace made in Latin, answering to the letter of Luther, my mind giveth me that His Majesty is of his blessed zeal so minded to move this matter unto the prelates of the clergy, among whom I have perceived some of the greatest and of the best of their own minds well inclinable thereto already, that we lay-people shall in this matter, ere long time pass, except the fault be found in ourselves, be well and fully satisfied and content." "In good faith," quoth he, "that will in my mind be very well done; and now am I for my mind in all this matter fully content and satisfied." "Well," quoth I, "then will we to dinner, and the remnant will we finish after dinner." And therewith we went to meat.

Jean de Bourdigné, whose *Chronicle of Anjou* ends in 1529, is well characterized by Quatrebarbes in his preface to the only modern edition (Angers, 1842, p. lxvii). "His double character of priest and nobleman comes out in every page. He has the same hatred for the enemies of the Faith and of France—the *monstre luthérique*, the Burgundians, and the English. Bourdigné is the last writer of the Middle Ages. . . . His Chronicle, a faithful echo of ancient customs, has appeared to us the most precious historical document concerning our province." In reading these annals we see before our eyes the passing of the Middle Ages, and are ready to understand those wars of religion which devastated France in the next generation.

62. SHYLOCK IN PROVENCE

(T. II, p. 237. Shortly after the death of Charles the Bold, A.D. 1477.)

THE good prince René of Anjou, King of Sicily, after having taken leave of his nephew King Louis in his town of Lyon, as you have already heard, returned to Provence. Now it befel that, while he was in the town of Aix, in his said County of Provence, there were then in that town several Jews his tributaries, men of great substance and fat merchants, one of whom at the Devil's instigation uttered several injurious

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words against the honour of the glorious Virgin Mary; which came to the ears of this devout and religious King of Sicily, who caused the blasphemer to be taken and clapped into prison. Then, a few days afterwards, he sent unto him several doctors of theology, men of great learning and good conscience, to preach to him and move him from his evil speech. Which doctors by lively and evident reasons proved unto him the error of all that he had said, and admonished him well to repent and unsay those false propositions which he had wished to maintain. But the poor wretch was so obstinate that he would never repent for all that could be said unto him. Moreover, what is worse, while continuing his evil speech he heaped error upon error, and uttered yet more villainies and insults than before. When therefore King René learned his obstinacy, he was sore displeased, and commanded his chancellor to try the Jew in form of law and do him good justice, saying that he would have no other man know of this matter but the chancellor, for fear lest (if any other took cognizance thereof) the other Jews, who were rich and wealthy, should suborn him by gifts and bribes.

The chancellor, after due form of trial, seeing the enormity of the case, condemned the obstinate merchant to be stripped stark naked upon a scaffold set up in front of his own house, and there to be flayed alive. Which sentence was forthwith published with sound of trumpet; and the crier proclaimed that this justice should be done after dinner on this same day. When therefore the other Jews of the city heard the horrible form of death whereby their companion was doomed to die, then were they in great doubt and trouble. Wherefore they held a council and set forth all means that could possibly be found to save him; nor could they find better than the counsel of one of the elders of the synagogue, who said unto them: "Sirs, the best means that I can see to save our brother from death is this; that the King of Sicily (as I have heard) hath at this time no great abundance of money; wherefore I counsel that we beseech him to pardon our fellow, and that for this request we present him twenty thousand florins, with a thousand or twelve hundred more to each of his three or four priviest and most familiar counsellors, that we may thus bend

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his purpose." Which counsel seemed most excellent to the Jews: wherefore they chose out some dozen of the most honourable from among them, and sent them on this business to the King of Sicily. These men, by gifts and promises, compassed their entry to the King and had leave to speak with him. When therefore they had done obeisance before him, they besought him to pardon their fellow and grant him his life; for which pardon they offered him 20,000 florins.

The good King, moved to indignation by this request of the Jews, left them without answer; and, entering into a closet where were five or six of his most familiar servants, he said to them with a smile: "What think ye, gallants? it lieth in my choice to have twenty thousand florins, which I have even now refused." Then he told them how the Jews had offered him so much to save their fellow's life; after which, he asked their counsel. And all the lords there present (who, perchance, were already corrupted with bribes) counselled that he should take the florins and let the miscreant go to the devil. "How?" quoth the good King: "ye would then that I should overlook the insults which by this traitor have been said concerning the mother of God, and that I should sell the punishment thereof! Certes, if this were so, I should then be an evil doer of justice, which shall never be. And albeit for the present I have certain most urgent business, to bring which to an end I have sore need of such a sum, yet would I rather have lost ten times as much than that my good Lady should not be avenged. God grant that no man say of me, nor no man write in chronicle, that under my governance so heinous a crime remained unpunished!"

When the virtuous King had thus spoken, then the rest knew well that they must hold their peace, for to speak would be but lost labour. But it chanced that one among them had a somewhat more lively wit than the rest, who said unto the King: "Sir, these Jews are evil miscreants, and have well deserved a great fine in that they have been so bold as to pray for the revocation of your just sentence, seeing especially that their fellow hath so well deserved death. Wherefore I pray you that it be your pleasure to command me to answer for you, and to avow whatsoever I shall say; and I hope, with

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God's help, so to work that you shall be well pleased." "Yea in truth," said the King, "I grant it you, saving only that my doom already given shall be executed." "Sire," replied the gentleman, "that shall be done, trust me well." Then he sent an usher to tell the Jews (who were in the hall, awaiting the answer to their request) that the King was sending a gentleman of his chamber to declare unto them the finding of his Council. Within a brief space after this message, this gentleman came among them and began to look austere upon them, saying thus: "Fair sirs, our lord the King and his noble Council cannot sufficiently marvel at the presumptuous temerity which hath moved you to petition him for the pardon of so execrable a crime as this of your fellow's, seeing that yourselves (by the conventions which stand between you and the Christian folk of this land) should have punished it; for it is laid down, in the law which suffereth you to dwell among Christian folk, that none of you should speak evil of our lord Jesus Christ nor of His glorious Mother. And, notwithstanding that ye have been duly advertised of the false and injurious words which yon fellow hath said of this matter, yet ye, though aiders and abettors in his crime, have had the hardihood to beseech a pardon for him, and have sought to corrupt the King's justice by bribes. Wherefore, in order that for all time to come no man among you may again be so presumptuous as to make or solicit such unlawful and importunate requests, therefore the King and his Council have judged irrevocably and sentenced that ye yourselves should flay this malefactor, the first royal sentence remaining still in full force and vigour. Wherefore I signify this doom unto you, according as it hath been commanded to me."

At this judgment the Jews were so amazed that they were ready to swoon with sorrow, and began to look most piteously one upon the other, as men who would rather have died than to do such hangman's work: which indeed they made shift to escape by working upon five or six favourites, to whom they gave great presents for their intercession with the King, that it might please him to absolve them from this execution whereunto his Council had doomed them; saying that they would give this sum of twenty thousand florins which they

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had before offered to save their fellow's life; whose death they left now to the sentence which the King had pronounced, confessing that he had spoken folly, and that they had been ill-advised in beseeching his deliverance. The King therefore, advised by his favourites of the device of his courtier who had condemned them, was well pleased and gave him good thanks, accepting the promised moneys to quit these Jews from the execution of the criminal. They held themselves fortunate to have thus escaped; and, that same day, after dinner, that sentence was carried out on the body of the unhappy Jew; for he was flayed alive by certain masked gentlemen who, to avenge the injurious words pronounced against the glorious Mother of God, willed of their own good zeal to execute the sentence. So miserably did this wretched Jew die, persisting to the last breath in his damned obstinacy.

63. THE END OF A WORLD

(T. II, p. 329. A.D. 1521.)

ALL the country parishes in Anjou were constrained to raise men-at-arms commonly called *francs-archers*, which was a grievous burden; for each parish furnished one man whom they had to fit out with cap, plumes, doublet, leather collar, hosen and shoes, with such harness and staff as the captain should command.¹ . . . Which innovation and raising of francs-archers was most grievous to the people of Anjou; for, albeit they were raised, fed, clothed and armed at so great a cost, yet were they unprofitable both to prince and to people; for they began to rise up against the common folk, desiring to live at ease without further labouring at their wonted trades, and to pillage in the fields as they would have done in an enemy's

¹ It is interesting to compare this with the far more businesslike militia system which worked so well in England from Edward I to James I, and which, instead of attempting to create by compulsion a small standing army, aimed at making each citizen responsible for his share of home defence, thus creating a whole population of roughly-trained men from which volunteer armies could be raised in times of emergency. The English militia was always looked upon as a steady constitutional force, and a valuable counterpoise to the danger of lawlessness which attends the formation of standing armies.

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country; wherefore several of them were taken and given into the hands of the provost-marshals, ending their lives on the gibbet which they had so well deserved.

This year also the country of Anjou was infested by exceeding grievous rains, that did much harm to the fruit: moreover the earth quaked sore, wherefrom many had but evil forebodings. And certainly men heard daily reports of follies and barbarities committed by these francs-archers, to the great scandal of the Faith and detriment of the people. For about this season, after that the aforesaid miscreants had scoured and rifled the province of Maine, beating and grieving the people sore, then they feared not to do a most detestable deed; for, by instigation of the Devil, they took a calf and set it upon the holy font ordained for the giving of baptism to christian folk; and there one of them, taking the church ornaments and holy water, made a form and pretence of baptizing him and giving him such a name as one would give to a christian, all in scorn and disdain of the holy sacrament of baptism, which was a strange thing to christian folk.

Again, in the village called St-Côme de Ver, in the said country of Maine, as the francs-archers aforesaid had (according to their wont) done several insolences and derisions against the holy relics in that church, and against the sacraments and ceremonies of the Church, finally one of them came behind the said church of St-Côme, hard by the [great] glass window which giveth it light, where the said franc-archer found an apple-tree laden with fruit, which apples he plucked one by one, and threw them for his pleasure against the painted window of the church. And, having thrown several without being able to strike or break the glass, then it befel that, cursing and blaspheming, he cast one wherewith he smote the crown on a pictured St Cosmo that was in the window; which apple stuck there amidst the glass for a whole year's space, in the sight of all people, without decay or corruption; yet on the other hand all the other apples that hung on the tree fell to the ground from that day forward, and rotted in the twinkling of an eye, as though poisoned and infected by the touch of that wretch who had laid hands on the tree; who nevertheless escaped not our Lord's judgment and vengeance. For, in that

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night following, the arm wherewith he had cast the said apples was stricken with palsy, not without grievous pain and torment; whereof he was nevertheless afterwards cured to his own confusion; for, having done some deed that brought him into the hands of justice, he was hanged and strangled by the provost-marshal. Yet this shameful death of his amended not his fellows, but that they wrought many crimes and barbarities unwonted and unheard-of before this time; for they pillaged in their own country as in a foreign land, forced women and maidens, beat priests and men of all estates, and took horses or mares from the fields and meadows wheresoever they found them, to bear themselves and the raiment which they gathered by their robberies throughout the country; feeding their horses and mares on pure wheat which they took from the poor folk, and giving them wine to drink. And it befel in one place of Anjou that, after these miscreants had drunken outrageously of the best wine that was in the house wherein they lodged, then they began to cast the rest away; and as the master of that house, a man of holy church far advanced in age, gently reprovéd them, showing how it was a sin to waste the good things which God giveth for our sustenance, then these evil folk waxed wroth and constrained him to set a caldron on the fire, and fill it with wine, wherewith, when it was warmed he must needs wash their feet. And many other barbarities were wrought by the rabble, which would be tedious to tell of. . . . In the month of November of this year it rained in so great abundance that men thought the deluge had come (for some had foolishly foretold this the year before); whereof many men of light faith were sore afraid, both in Anjou and in Touraine. The river Loire swelled into so great a flood that it did much harm throughout the land; for in many places it brake the dikes and wrought piteous havoc in the lowlands; wherein some houses were overthrown by the violence of the waters, and much sown corn was lost, and many beasts drowned; so that the country folk were in sore poverty for many years after. And this same year, on the twelfth day of December, in the city of Freiburg in Germany, a cow brought forth a monstrous birth shaped like a man, yet hideous and deformed, bearing on his head a sort of tonsure,

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both broad and white, his body and tail shaped like a swine, and the whole colour as though he had been smoked. Moreover the skin round his neck was doubled and folded like a monk's cowl; and the shape thereof was soon afterwards brought into Anjou, wherefrom many drew manifold interpretations; and, among others, they attributed the form of this monster to the Lutheran doctrine, seeing that there was then in Germany a Friar, Martin Luther by name, who preached and dogmatized many articles and propositions which since by the Roman Church and the Sorbonne at Paris have been declared false and erroneous. Wherefore many folk named this misbegotten creature the Lutherick Monster, in mockery and derision of that same Luther and those of his damnable sect. . . .

Moreover in the month of March, the moon being in opposition, it was seen striped in many colours, to wit white and yellow and black and red, whereat folk marvelled sore. And soon afterwards came certain news of the enterprise which that unhappy enemy to the Christian Faith, Sultan Solyman called the Great Turk, had wrought upon the knights of Rhodes, whom we call Hospitallers, taking from them their most mighty and well-fortified city of Rhodes together with the whole island, and banishing them from those parts, to the great shame, confusion, and scandal of christian princes and prelates, and to the irrecoverable loss of all christendom. Whereof the knights of that same Order were much blamed; for the common rumour ran that (seeing how long warning they had received of that which the Turk meditated) they had very ill furnished their said town, both in victuals and in soldiers, artillery, powder, and other munitions of war; and thus they had done but little good for the great revenues which they gather wellnigh daily throughout all christian kingdoms, which revenues (as we may well believe) were given only to set the knights forward as the bulwark and defence of christendom, and especially of the said city of Rhodes.

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